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LETTERS

FROM

SIR ROBERT CECIL

TO

SIR GEORGE CAREW.

"THIS BOOKE CONTAYNETH A REMAYNDER OF MR. SECRETARY CECYLL HIS L'RES, LEFT VNBURNT, TO THE LO. PRESIDENT OF MOUNSTER DURINGE HIS THREE YEARS OF GOVERMENT THERE."—*Lamb. MSS.* 604.

EDITED BY

JOHN MACLEAN,
FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, &c.



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PREFACE.

THE two distinguished Statesmen immediately connected with the Correspondence printed in the following pages are too well known in history to need any introduction to the Members of the Camden Society. The letters, however, are so characteristic of the writer, and throw so much light on the policy pursued by the Court of Queen Elizabeth in the affairs of Ireland during the latter years of her reign, that they cannot fail to be interesting, not only to the student of Irish history of that period, but also, generally, to historical scholars.

When we consider the nature of many of these letters, and the cautious character of the writer, it is not a little surprising that they should remain extant. It is true Sir Robert Cecil did his best to secure their destruction. Many of them were intended to be strictly secret. It will be observed that for the sake of security

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Cecil requests his friend Carew as soon as he has perused the letters to return them to the writer, and in other cases he expresses a desire that they may be immediately burnt. This was doubtless the fate of much of the Correspondence, for above the Table of Contents in the volume of MSS. it is written: "This booke contayneth a remaynder of M^{r} Secretary Cecyll his lettres, left vnburnt, to the Lo: President of Mounster duringe his 3 yeares of goverment there."

It is to be regretted that the whole of the Correspondence should not have been preserved. The replies to these letters would have possessed peculiar interest. Knowing Sir George Carew's acquisitive habits I long entertained a hope of being able to find copies of his letters to Cecil, either at Lambeth or in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. As Carew preserved the originals, notwithstanding the injunctions of the writer that they should be destroyed, it seemed to me exceedingly probable that he would have retained a record of the replies. After a careful search, however, in both the depositories mentioned, the Editor fears no such record exists, unless the originals shall have been preserved

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by Cecil, and be hereafter found among the treasures at Hatfield.

Sir George Carew on his death bequeathed his MSS. and printed books to Sir Thomas Stafford, from whom they passed to Archbishop Laud. In what manner that prelate acquired them, whether by bequest or otherwise, is unknown. Sir Thomas Stafford's will is not traced in the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. By Laud the documents, which extend to some forty volumes, were deposited in the Library at Lambeth, with the exception of four volumes, which are preserved in the Laudian Collection in the Bodleian.

J. M.

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LETTERS OF SIR ROBERT CECIL

TO

SIR GEORGE CAREW.

I.

[Lamb. MSS. 604. 1. Original.]

SIR GEORGE,

1600. January 28th.

Respecting the Undertakers in Munster.

I had forgotten in the point of sending back the undertakers[a] to lett you know what here I finde—first, they are all so pore and beggerly as they pretend to be undone, and seeme on the other syde so much to exclayme of the perill wherein they should be yf they should adventure to go thether as I haue much adoe to keep up the reputation of the alteration which is made in that Province, because their outcryes and suppositions conteste against the same. I pray you, therefore, in your next lettres write unto me in some particuler manner what I may say in that point, and make me some description which of the Vndertakers may reside with most security in respect of their neighbourhood, or the condition of that part of the Province wherein their possessions are quartered; for where it is supposed that, by some deficiency on their parte, the Queen is

[a] In the Parliament holden at Dublin in 1586 an Act was passed for escheating the lands of Gerald Earl of Desmond. Those lands were thereupon granted to English settlers called "undertakers" under certain conditions and with certain privileges. These grants were made in tracts so large that the grantees were unable to people or defend them, and consequently the Irish re-entered upon the lands and expelled the undertakers, seizing and destroying their property. Being thus reduced to great straits and misery they supplicated the Crown for protection and support in the recovery and possession of their lands. That they had just cause of complaint is evident from this letter.

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1600. January 28th.

again invested in their portions, you know very well that all of them can alleadge that the Queen fayled in divers conditions which were obligatory in common, as the liberty they should haue in transporting grayne, with some other conditions to haue horse in pay, and such lyke, which they will pleade as matter of right, besydes the voyce of their common calamity, which may seeme to deserve dispensation, though in strickt construction they lye open to her Majesty's iustice. Thus do you see that I sayle between two Rocks, wherein I must desire your Pilotage, which is the Principall motyf of this lettre, having tyred myself with many other dispatches; and so I leave you to God his protection. Whytehall, 28 January 1600.

Your loving and assured frende,

RO. CECYLL.

Superscribed, To my honorable frend S^r George Carew, knight, Lord President of Munster.
Indorsed, 28th January 1600. From S^r Robert Cecyll about the Undertakers. Noted by Carew as "Receaved the last of February 1600."

II.

[Lamb. MSS. 604. 9. Holograph.]

SIR,

1600. February. Introduction of Mr. Stafford.

Although I do confess that I do offer you some Injury to seek to robb you of thanks for that which I do know you wold perform out of your owne disposition to this yong gentleman, Mr. Stafford,[a] in

[a] The editor has failed to identify this Mr. Stafford. His name is not mentioned in the Irish State Papers of the period as serving in Munster. Can he have been Sir Thomas Stafford who in 1633 published Pacata Hibernia? That gentleman is said (Biog. Brit. under Carew) to have been a natural son of Sir George Carew, and Sir George, in his will dated 30 Nov. 1625 (Probate granted 19th May 1629; Ridley 36), bequeathed to him the reversion of certain leases of lands in Devon and Cornwall, and all his books and manuscripts. The letter now under consideration, if it refer to the same person, is, however, inconsistent with such relationship.

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respect of his owne good meritt, and perticulerly for the love you beare to those freends of his for whose sake he is worthy to be extraordinarily regarded, yet I must either haue ben discouered to haue ben vnwilling to haue imploied my best creditt with you for a Jentleman to whom I do, for diuers considerations, much desire to shew my affection, or els must interpose my recomendation to you of him in this manner, wherin I pray you believe me the first, the Jentleman hath chosen that Province to serve in the rather for the affection he hath to be comanded by you; next, you shall do for one whose freend, being both of place and quality, will be apt to requite it; and lastly, you shall have the interest of my thanks for all the courtesy you shall aford him, which, thogh they will little availe you (thanks being now-a-dayes cheap in the market) I presume you will esteem them the better because they shall proceed from

1600. February.

Your afectionate freend and allye,

RO. CECYLL.

Superscribed, To my hon^ble and loving friend Sir George Carewe, knight, L. President of the Provynce of Munster in Ireland.

Indorsed, From Sir Robert Cecyll. Received in March 1600.

III.

[Lamb. MSS. 604. 13. Original.]

S^r,

Your tres weare not soe pleasinge wherein you advertise the takinge of Desmond,[a] but that theise brought by Power[b] weare as

1600. Jnly 11th

[a] James FitzThomas, son of Sir Thomas FitzGerald, eldest son of James fifteenth Earl of Desmond by Joane daughter of David Lord Roche. Sir Thomas was disinherited by his father as a bastard. He was knighted by Sir Henry Sidney in 1569, and married a daughter of David Lord Roche, grandson of the above-mentioned David. James FitzThomas, under the authority of O'Neil, the Pope, and the King of Spain, assumed the title of Earl of Desmond, and was called the Sugane or "Straw-rope" Earl. He had, however, almost absolute authority over all Munster.

[b] Mr. John Power.

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1600. July 11th. Escape of James Fitz-Thomas.

vnpleasinge. At the first syght her Ma^tie havinge scarse the pacience to distinguishe in whom the fawlt was, but you may now assure yourselfe that she is throughly satisfied, that, but in Dermott [a] himselfe, there was noe fawlt in any man livinge;[b] and yet, perceavinge now that it was not knavery but fear and iealousye, her Ma^tie doth well perceaue and weigh that his reduction uppon any reasonable termes wilbe of great vse, though here are some fyne wittes that will not believe but that Dermott made his flourishe only to gett to be trusted by you, and at length to doe some notable exployt. But to leave theise extractions to those fyne pollitiques, I will resort to that which is now concluded. First, it hath been S^r Wa. Raleighes

[a] Dermot O'Connor was a gentleman of Connaught of the family of O'Connor Don, but of small estate. He was a man of great courage and ability, and commanded, under a commission from O'Neil, 1,400 bonnaghts or mercenary soldiers. He married the Lady Margaret FitzGerald, daughter of Gerald Earl of Desmond.

[b] Sir George Carew, on his arrival in Munster, finding himself too weak to meet the Irish in the field, had recourse to a system of subtilty and treachery of a not very creditable character. His object was to sow dissensions among the leaders of the rebellion, and, among other devices, resolved to tempt Dermot O'Connor to betray the Sugane Earl to the Government. With this view he sent a fit agent to sound the inclinations of the Lady Margaret, and, finding her not an unfit instrument, proposed that, if Dermot would deliver up the Earl, he should receive 1,000*l.* sterling in money, and have a company of men in the pay of the Queen, with other advantages. The Lady Margaret, having received an English education, and being favourably disposed towards the English, and moreover naturally hating the man who had usurped her brother's title and dignity, prevailed upon her husband to enter into the project. A meeting with the Sugane Earl was, without difficulty, arranged, when James FitzThomas was seized by Dermot upon the charge of being in collusion with the English, which charge he affected to support by the production of a fictitious letter said to have been intercepted, but with which he had been furnished by the Lord President for the purpose. The important intelligence of the seizure of the Earl appears to have been immediately communicated to the English Court. Before, however, the Lord President could reach Castle Ishin, the place of the Earl's confinement, to receive his prisoner, John FitzThomas, the Earl's brother, with Pierce Lacy, and several gentlemen of the Geraldines, mustered a force, and effected a rescue. The intelligence of the escape of the captive following so closely upon the report of his capture was of course a grievous disappointment at Court, and naturally tried the patience of the hot and fiery-tempered Elizabeth. This accident led to the design of sending into Ireland the young James FitzGerald, son and heir of the late Earl, for the purpose of dividing the interest of the still powerful family of the Geraldines.

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fortune to be here at the instant, whoe hath ioyned with us in the stronge counsayle that James Fitzgerrald should be sent into Munster, to whom her Ma^tie had given liberty to goe abroade before in the towne as soone as it was bruicted that he was taken; much adoe we have had nowe to perswade her to have sent him, because she feareth that when he shall be there it is not vnlike but he and his cusyn may be reconciled, the rather if the counterfayt erle shall pretend that he never meant to hold it agaynst him but agaynst the Queen; but of theise thinges her Ma^tie is now content to remayne satisfied, especially because she doth presume that you will use thinges soe iuditially when he is brought unto you as not to be grossly overtaken. In the meane tyme I am not a little gladd that it was your good fortune not to be overtaken to haue to paye money and haue gotten nothinge. Here hath been a motion made from the Deputy [a] that he might call 1,000 of your men out of Munster to assist him in other services; out of that you may pick some Englishe, but we have answeared it verie well, that your Province is to farr from the condition to spare any, much less to doe it at this tyme when all the service is to be done, nether can we thinke that he should need it, seeinge we send him 2,000 new supplyes. Since he understood that, he hath made a motion that he may haue one thousand of your men and you one thousand of his supplyes; but we, that know what need you haue of good men, haue still denyed that proposition. You need take noe notice hereof further then you please, for it is deade, only I thinke it not amisse to tell you that I suspect that the Deputy may be iealous that you neglect him because you write not to him, from which error though I know you are free, yet haue I vsed this cautyon booth uppon your last tres and the precedent (*sic*) to send him the extracts of the newes, and to lett him know that I haue done it by your entreaty, because you had written unto me that you did contynually advertise him, but feared that your tres weare intercepted. This I haue done by the post this day.

1600. July 11th. James Fitz-Gerald to be sent into Ireland with the title of Earl of Desmond.

Troops not to be removed from Munster.

[a] Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, created Earl of Devonshire 26th July 1603, ob. 3rd April 1606.

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1600. July 11th.

30 horse sent to Munster.

I haue written unto you both by those that carry the treasure and since by one Smith servant of my owne. I haue allsoe found the meanes in our late supplyes of horse to send you 30 horse to supplye yours—I presume they will be wellcome to you. It appeareth, I hope, by all our cares that you are not neglected; you have treasure and you have victuall; but I must needs require you to take order that the commissaries for victualls doe continually advertise us of their receipts, for we can doe noe more then make bargaynes, see them laded, and they say it is arrived. It weare a small matter for your commissaries to write over that is soe or not soe, and yet not to send messengers on purpose to charge the Queen, but they to write when you write, or by other oportunityes, whereof many doe represent themselfes. It will not be amisse that you do sometymes write a private lre to the Lord Chamberlayne,[a] and in those matters which toucheth not some verie private desygne to direct your lre to the lords. Her Ma^tie alloweth well of your proceedinge w^th Dermott and liketh that you keepe the Crompsters.[b] I pray you send me word of your opinion what land, or what portion, you would think fitt that the Queen should confer uppon the Erle of Desmond when he comes to you, for, as it weare unsafe to give him all the superiorities which puffe up the Irish soe, I doe verily believe that, except they see him settled to dwell amonge them, they will never follow him. Sometyme methinkes it weare not amisse to place him at Kilmallock,* and to give him some land there, which may be done with some composition with the Lady Norrys;[c] sometyme methinkes it weare not amisse to place him at one of his owne houses, as Loughgeare, with some plough lands about it. Divers undertakers have landes, you knowe, which the Queen may well resume because they haue not fullfilled their conditions. Of all theise thinges there must be consideration, and therefore I pray you when you write next give me

Commissaries to send accounts.

Private communications to be made to Cecil.

Provision to be made for the young Earl of Desmond.

* "I do nott think uppon better consideration y^t Kylmallock is fitt, being a towne."

[a] John Carey, third Lord Hunsdon, appointed Lord Chamberlain 1598, in succession to his brother.

[b] A kind of vessel.

[c] Bridgett, dau. of Sir William Kingsmill, knt. and widow of Sir Thomas Norris, Lord President of Munster and Lord Justice of Ireland, who was killed by the rebels in

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1600. July 11th.

some tast how you would haue him established; but if you do that by your private ire it shall fashyon counsayles accordingly, for, as noe man is better able to doe it than you, soe you know I will believe noe man better then you. If you thinke that a penson weare fitter then landes (which for my part I doe not), then I pray you acquaynt me with your mynde in all these poynts. Her Ma^tie doth now determyne to creat S^r Arthur O'Neale [a] E. of Tyrone, whoe doth very good service at Loughfoyle, and is a gallant fellow. Her Ma^tie allsoe doth well like of your resolution to use severity to Pledges, for indeed the contrarie breeds but contempt; but it weare better to begynn it vpon a man then vppon a youth. I would be verie glad to be certified whether ane thinge be true that I have heard, and which is soe commonly spoken: first, that the Lord Barry [b] was not spoyled soe much by the Erle of Tyrone as was sayde, but that losse which he receaued in the Great Iland was belonginge to some of his followers; next that his brother Jhon Barry did sett uppon a person, protected with a dozen or sixteen swordes drawne, hacked him and hewed him, and all quiettly passed over by you without punishment. It is said that one Jhon Fitz-redmond [c] lyeth about Youghall w^th not soe many as one hundred

Sir Arthur O'Neil to be made Earl of Tyrone.

Cecil requires information on several points.

1599. Sir Thomas Norris had a grant of a considerable tract of land at Mallow, which was inherited by his only daughter, who married Sir John Jephson, knt. (See also Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Journal, vol. ii. p. 270.)

[a] The only son of Tirlough Lynough. He was knighted by Sir John Perrott 21st June (1587?) He joined Docwra at Loughfoile with 30 horse and 30 foot on 1st June and died in October following. Sir Arthur Chichester, writing to Cecil on 21st October in this year, says: "Sir Art. O'Neyle is dead of drinkinge to manie currosses uppon his marriadge daye. There is no great looss of him, a verie dull fellow." (State Paper Office, Irish Corr.)

[b] The same day John FitzThomas, accompanied with 100 kerne or thereabouts, came into the Lord Barry his country near Castle Lyons, and there took from him and his servants a prey of 300 cowes and 10 horses." (Pacata Hibernia.) This was David Lord Barry, second Viscount Buttevant. A letter was written by the Council to the Lord Barry on 2nd February, 1599, urging him to use his utmost endeavours to reduce his brother, John Barry, who was in rebellion. (Priv. Co. Reg.)

[c] The Lords of the Council in England wrote on 2nd February 1599 to John Fitz-Edmond (FitzGerald of Clone) commending his constant faith and affection to the

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1600. July 11th. swordes, and yet good S[r] Jhon Dowdall with all his garrison, for some particular respect, letting him alone; which, if he weare reduced, it is said you have made the way passable between Youghall and Lymericke. What is true or fals I send you, and so will ever; and thus I end.

[*The remainder holograph.*]

Althogh we have wonn 2021 (the Queen) to be contented to send 1076 (Desmond) to 2049 (Carew) as 2049 desired, yet we do say that 1076 shall be at first day (*sic*). Tyll we heare from you next I think good to tell you that her Majesty staieth y[e] going over of the Erle in the Tower. I pray you, therefore, make hast and write to me what you will haue don. I send you the ires open which James doth write; you may use them as you find cawse. I gave Poor 12[li], he shall haue as much more (now to go).

Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh stollen over to Dunkirk.

My L. Cobham [b] and S[r] W. Ralegh are stollen over to Dunkirk.

Yours afectionatly,

RO. CECYLL.

From Court this xj[th] of July 1600.

Indorsed, From M[r] Secretarye
the 11th July 1600.
Received the 11th August 1600.

IV.

[Lamb. MSS. 604. 19. Holograph.]

MY L. PRESIDENT,

1600. July. I am much intreated by the Erle that shalbe of Desmond to

Queen's service, and stating that her Majesty doubteth not but he, to whom Almighty God hath given learningand greatness which will make him despyse all barbarous traytors, besides the strong motives of his natural duty and affection, will now strayne his best indeavours to deserve the contynuance and increase of her extraordinarie good opinyon, and urging him to imploye himself against John McRedmond, the Seneschal of Imokelly. This would seem to be the John FitzRedmond mentioned in the text. (Privy Council Register.)

[b] Henry Brooke, eighth Lord; ob. 1619.

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recomend unto you a request of the L. Roch,[a] who seems to complaine of spoiles by his owne soonns. What is trew or fals I know not, but you do; only this, I wish that the L. Roch may know that what you do is rather for the respect of this yong gentleman, to whom the Queen now intendeth all grace and favour; and so I end.

1600. (July ?)

Lord Roche complains of spoils by his own sons.

Your ass. fr.

Ro. Cecyll.

I pray you incouradg this Bearer, for he is very carefull, and shews himself honest.

Superscribed, To my hon^ble and loving freind, S^r George Carew, knight, L. President of Munster.
Not dated, but indorsed by Carew,
"From S^r Robert Cecyll.
"Received in August 1600."

V.

[Lamb. MSS. 604. 29. Original.]

S^r George,

I have imparted to her Majesty your last dispatch to the Counsell and to myself, in booth which I am verie gladd to be able to advertise you of soe good acceptacion, although in deed your proceedinges are soe orderly, and your writing to soe good purpose, as there neede noe extraordinarie diligence to improve your labours. Vppon the next assemblye of the counsayle there wilbe some ioinct answeare made from them, but (because I can geue a gese at that which shall follow, and fynde how longe we are to seeke for wynde

1600. August 2nd.

Carew's proceedings very acceptable to the Queen and Council.

[a] Morice Lord Roche, Viscount Fermoy. He married first, Ellinor daughter of Morice FitzGerald, brother to James FitzJohn, Earl of Desmond, and by her had two sons, David his successor, and Tibald. He afterwards married Katharine daughter of Gerald Earl of Desmond, by whom he had no issue. He died in June 1600, and is described as a mild, comely man, learned in the Latin, English, and Irish languages. His son David succeeded him; whom Carew, writing to Cecil on 17th September from Cork, describes as a gentleman of great towardness. (State Papers, Irish Correspondence.)

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1600. August 2nd. whien wee would haue it) I doe send you in this, as a vant courier, somethinge which (as the wynde stand where it doth) may happely arrive to give you now tymely satisfaccon. The princypall poyncts which require answeare are these: How you shall deale with those that wold come in, and which are most reprobates:—Your request to have Desmond sent over:—Your desyre to be supplyed with men:—and your expectation of the Spaniards:—for if, in the generall counsell of the warr you look for particular direction you may looke for noe other answeare from us, in that case (wherein we see noe man can counsayle you better then you doe your self) then this short sentence, *Vtere ingenio tuo.* For the first, there is noe man better knowes the way to make good or bad use of receauing traytors to mercy then your self, and therefore, of all others, I will not play Aristotle to him, to whom, in the practise of these thinges, I haue [to] be a disciple; only this is the prophisye of the malevolent, that, to saue their countryes during this harvest, it is no marvayle if any rebell make his submission, soe as I doubt not but therein your circumspection will prevent all such censures, which, if you doe, I doe not fynde but her Majesty could be contented to have the warr ended; only this is verie trew, that she did verie well like of your owne iudgment of her that she would take it verie well that those three persons[a] might dye for the synnes of the people; and yet, if Piers Lacy[b] (whom you haue named) haue pardon for the service to be done against the other two, such a proofe of his loyalty will satisfy her Majestie if you gaue him pardon. For the other poynct, I must deale playnly with you, that I am infinitely to seeke what to

Traitors to be received to pardon,

with three exceptions.

[a] Carew, writing to Cecil from Limerick on 18th July 1600, says, "James FitzThomas, McMorris, and Piers Lacye (as I am advised), the 5th of this instant dispatched a messenger with a somme of money unto Tyrone to leavy bonnoughts in Vlster, and also have dealt w^th^ Redmond Burke and Tirrell, to return with their forces unto them, whereof if they fayle (holding their treasons to be unpardonable) they have resolved to goe into Spaine, hoping from thence to obtain aydes to infest this country with a newe warr." (State Papers, Irish Correspondence.)

[b] Pierce Oge Lacy, of Bruree and Bruff, co. Limerick. He is said to have been eighteenth in descent from William Gorm, son of Hugh de Lacy, one of the original conquerors of Ireland, by the daughter of Roderick O'Connor. (Annals of the Four Masters, vol. iii. p. 75.)

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1600. August 2nd.

write in certaynty, for I doe fynde her Majestie wonderfull tickle in it, some tyme fearing the storme of sendinge him over if noe good successe should follow, and other tyme doubting if he should be at lyberty there that he would be harder to be pulled downe then any other. To these haue been returned the best answeares that could be thought of, and yet I protest unto you I fynde her Majesty is still brauste in the poynct; and, though I thinke feare of his playing Robin-hoode be a great impediment, yet the other conceipt that little would be done for him is some tyme as stronge a perswasion. All this had been prevented if the full plott had holden, and if Dermot would since have done any thinge it would have satisfied much; but his runninge away sodaynly, and nothinge yet done by any of this Desmond's followers in hope of his preferment, maketh great diffidence (I meane where you knowe it is not run agaynst), which for a man to presse weare but a desperate woord in a matter where successe is so uncertayne, and where, commonly, the issew of the counsayle giuen may be throwne vppon a man's owne shoulders for his labour; all which notwithstanding, if I shall speake what I assure my self will follow, indeed I doe verilie beleve he will be sent to you to see what wilbe done for him, and therefore I would not haue you in any wise divulge the doubtfullness of it, but rather to make your best proffit of the expectation; for this step he still inioyeth of liberty, that, though he lyeth in the Towre everie night, yet he goeth everie day where he will. I have pressed her Majestie wonderfully for the 500 men, but this last supplye of 200 for Dublyn hath drawne vs soe drye as it will not be hearkned vnto. For the expectation of the Spaniards landing I am still little apprehensive, both because the state of that kingdom cannot afford many, and because some likelyhoode of a warr to breake out between Spayne and France (where the French Kinge[a] is at Lyons ready for the feeld agaynst the Duke of Savoy[b]) which the late overthrow to

The Queen's hesitation as to James FitzGerald.

Verily believes he will be sent.

Further supplies of men not hearkened unto.

[a] Henry IV. 1589-1610; assassinated 1610.

[b] Charles Emanuel, the great Duke of Savoy and King of Cyprus, born 1562. He was a learned mathematician, an able statesman, and a strenuous general, but ambitious; called by historians "the ornament and disturbance of his times." While France was

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1600. August 2nd.

Not apprehensive of the Spaniards' landing, but dare not be too confident.

the Archduke[a] (which hath cost them many bodyes of men) ought to make them vnable to spare many; and yet, when I consider how easye a matter it is uppon a sodayne to choppe over 3,000 or 4,000 without any extraordinarie preparacon of shipping, I dare not be confident in the contrary, wherein nothinge more carryes me soe much to believe that they have some design uppon us as to see how abruptly they have broken the treaty upon this only poynct, that they will not yeild the Queen precedencye or equality, saying they deny priority unto France, and that France hath it of us, to whom they will not yeild equality. I will not deny but that the pride of the Spaniards is such as nothing is so deare vnto them as punctilios; but, when I consider how greedily this was sought, and for what it is now broken, I can make no other iudgment then this, that the case is changed from the tyme of the first proposition and this instant, for it is now two years since, at which tyme they did expect the success of the Flemminges fleet, which was uppon their coast. They assured them selfes that the Queen should haue prevayled in Ireland with her great army the last sommer, and they did not so well discover our resolution to make noe peace vppon any such conditions as might bring the Low Countryes to their obedience. Thus haue you for the publicke as much as the present tyme affordeth. I will only now toutch somewhat of our private. All matters of the Erle[b] stand still in the disposition which my last letters by Power lefte them; her Majestie being removed to Nonesuch, and the Erle lycenced only to goe into the countrye in the same restraynt that he lived here in London. Sir Walter Raleigh, vnderstanding of

Projected treaty with Spain broken on a question of precedency.

The Earl of Essex.

Sir Walter Raleigh seeks to be Captain of Jersey.

embroiled in civil war he seized the marquisate of Saluzzo, for which he coined money with a centaur treading on the crown of France, and the motto *Opportune*. But King Henry IV. requited it, overrunning all his country, coining money with the French Hercules treading on the centaur, and the motto *Opportunius*. By the peace established through the mediation of the Pope, 1601, Saluzzo was however yielded to the Archduke on his cession of other territories. Died 26th July 1630.

[a] Albert, Cardinal Archduke of Austria, married 1st April 1599, Clara Isabella, Infanta of Spain, favourite daughter of Philip II., under whose will be obtained the sovereignty of the Netherlands. Died 1633. The overthrow alluded to was that at the battle of Newport.

[b] Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex.

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1600. August 2nd.

the death of the Captayne of Jersye,[a] is here aboute sutor for it, and, as I conceave, verie likely to succeed, for the Queen hath given him a good answeare. I think you shall shortly receaue direction from the Deputie to bestow a company uppon one that is to be resident at Mallow, and that by casting some other companyes here. You may gesse at whose sute it is done, and for whose interest the rather, wherein I pray you shew noe backwardnes, for it is allready unkyndly taken that you have shewed noe greater curtesye to his kynswoeman, but haue taken vse of all her living without givinge any recompence, but rather hard answeares to her ministers.[b] I doubt not but S^r^ Walter hath written now heroff unto you, and therefore I forbeare to toutche it any more. I would be gladd to heare what report is made of my vsage of yonge Barry,[c] of whom I protest I take as great care as I can. I have placed him at the Deane's of Westmynster.[d] I have provided him bedding and all of my owne, with some other thinges, meaninge that for his dyett and residence there it shall cost him nothinge. He hath been a little sicke since he came, and is extreeme popishe of his age. Yet I haue given order that he shall not be any wayes straynably dealt withall, because of distasting his father, although he refuse to goe to

A company to be given at Mallow.

Young Barry in England extremely Popish.

[a] Sir Anthony Paulett, the son of Sir Amias Paulett (ambassador to France in 1576, and keeper of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots;) by Margaret daughter and heir of Anthony Harvey of Columb John, co. Devon. Sir Anthony held the appointments of Governor of Jersey and Captain of the Guard, in both which Raleigh succeeded him. Sir Anthony's son John Poulett was, in 1627, created Baron Poulett of Hinton St. George, and *his* great-grandson, in 1786, Earl Poulett.

[b] The Editor is uncertain whether this passage refers to the Lady Norris (see note c, p. 6), or to the Lady O'Carroll, widow of Sir Charles O'Carroll. The husbands of both these ladies had recently lost their lives in the Queen's service. Sir John McCoghlan, Lady O'Carroll's brother, a man of great power and influence, was making suit to the Court at this time in her behalf. It is most probable that the allusion is made to the former lady.

[c] David Barry, only son of David Lord Barry, second Viscount Buttevant (see note p. 7), by his first wife Ellen daughter of David Viscount Fermoy. The young gentlemen mentioned in the text died s. p.; and his posthumous son, by his wife Elizabeth daughter of Richard Lord Poer, succeeded his grandfather, and in 1627 was created Earl of Barrymore.

[d] Gabriel Goodman, appointed Dean of Westminster in 1561, and died in that office 1601.

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1600. August 2nd.

church; you may use this as seemeth good to your discrecon. Amongest other circumstances, the radisse trickes of Florence McCarty[a] makes me iealous of some practice with Spayne. I protest unto you, if I might advise you, I would ether bring him to better termes or els put him quite out. You know he is a coward, and methinkes it weare better to discover him before Spaniards come then otherwise. Although I haue written to you (as aboue), yet I have caused to be given out at Bristoll that the Queen will send 1,500 foot more into Munster, wherein, to culler it the better, I have written to the maior to informe me what stoore of shipping there is in the port at Bristoll, to see if thereby some alarum may be given of such a purpose; and soe for this tyme I committ you to God.

Florence McCarthy suspected of practice with Spain.

From the Court at Nonesuch the 2 of August 1600.

[Holograph.]

Young Barry.

The fellow that waytes on yong Barry is very obstinate. I thinke he makes the boy worse.

James Fitz-Gerald.

Send me woord freely if Desmond may be sent to you without being created first, and only promised, which shall be indeed performed. Whyther it will do any good to send him to you, I wold know it, for I shall never gett the Queen to do it first till somewhat be don. Write to me with all speed, secretly.

Earl of Thomond.

I pray you comend me afectionately to the Erl of Thomond,[b] of whom the Queen is infinitely satisfied. For the feare he had to be comanded by any other named to Conagh, let him be assured he shold never haue come under him; but that is dissolved; for the Erl of S.[c] is come away, and goes into the Low Contrey. Excuse me that I write not to him now.

Earl of Southampton gone into the Low Countries.

Yours afectionately,

Ro. Cecyll.

[a] Florence McCarthy, eldest son of Sir Donnough McCarthy Reagh, by Joan daughter to Maurice FitzGerald a totum, brother of James fifteenth Earl of Desmond. Florence married Ellen the only daughter and heir of Sir Donnel McCarthy, Earl of Clancare. He was no coward, but a most able man, and as astute a politician as Cecil himself.

[b] Donough fourth Earl. He was always faithful to the English Crown, under which he held several important offices. Ob. 1624.

[c] The Earl of Southampton. It appears, from a letter addressed by him to Cecil from

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VI.

[Lamb. MSS. 604. 27. Original.]

SIR GEORGE CAREW,

1600. August 6th.

It may be you shall receave many pacquetts together full of vncertainties in the matter of 1076 (Desmond); but now I must confess that I am of opinion it is fatall to us *probare meliora, et deteriora sequi:* for, besydes that her Majesty deferreth to doe any thing at all in that matter, all the credytt wee have not being able to procure him yet to lye out of the gephw (Tower), I doe protest vnto you, in myne opinion, that all the Queen wilbe he brought vnto wilbe to send him to you, but with some gentleman to looke vnto him by the waye; and nether to create him afore he goe, nor so much as to seale him a patente and send it with him, but onely write a lettre to you, intenticall, whereby you shalbe able to assure them that, yf his frendes will leave the other party and come in and serue him, that she will make him an Erle and geve him competent liuing to dwell amongst them. I write not this as not knowing her Majesty will doe all she promiseth yf she see any assured fruites, but as a man infinitely greeued to see her Majesty should geue to those that are possessed with unbeleeving spiritte so iuste cause of jalousie, whereby so great an oportunity might have ben to reduce that Province; a matter which, although I affect out of publick duety principally, yet I proteste no second cause so much inforceth me as the desire that it might prosper vnder your handes; notwithstanding

James Fitz-Gerald will be sent, but not created Earl first.

Grieved that the Queen doubts.

Dublin dated 22nd July, that he had made application for the government of Connaught, and had been refused by the Queen. He says: "And now, since I have heere nothinge to doe but as a private man, w^ch^ condition cannot afford mee meanes to performe ought worth the thinkinge of, and that I doe desier to spend my time so as I may best bee enabled to serue her Ma^tie^, I doe intend, God willinge, to goe hence into the Low Contries to live the rest of this sommer in the States army, where, perhappes, I may see somewhat woorth my paynes."

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1600. August 6th.

I doe vse all the arte I can tyll I heare from you to palliate this soare by making the yong Erle, and all that hearken after him (whereof the Irish are many), to beleeve no other then that he shall be sent to you in pomp, and created afore he goe: but, Sir, whether he will beleeve this or not I know not, but sure I am that I haue discharged my conscience toward God and her Majesty, to whome I referre it; and, excepting destiny it self, I can not geue any reason for this proceeding but that her Majesty still sayeth she will from tyme to tyme discharge him wholy from the ntfuk (Tower?). Wee dyd all wee could to make her Majesty perceave how infinitely she wronged her selfe by loosing of tyme, and therefore tould her that now this matter hath ben brueted there is not one old follower of this yong Erle of whome by faire meanes or foule the traytor M^cThomas hath not made sure since he found cause to doubt of. I proteste vnto you wee doubt Florence M^cCarthy very much, therefore wish you to trye him quickely, and, yf you see he doth but dally with you, I would wish you to laye hold on him as soone as you could possibly, which I assure you would be an acceptable service, for in my conscience he is Spanish. I tould the Queene that if she sent 1076 (Desmond) as a prisoner with a bare lettre unto you he would have much adoe to draw any numbers; soe as I see, because you have force there and counsaille that know the state of that province I shall leave expecting any good which you shall not performe without this helpe. Wee have mooved her Majesty to levye 600 foote more to supply your deficiencies in Mounster, and doubt not but by this tyme you haue receaved great quantities of victuaille and apparell to be distributed at your discretion. In the meane tyme I would faine truely vnderstand by you, and speedily, whether I shall trouble my selfe to procure his sending over in this drye manner; for, seeing her Majesty will not be drawen to the other poinct at first, yf so bare sending will doe noe good I will neuer trouble my selfe any further; but doe you write that priuately to me, and in some other lettre, which she shall see, write that you are very sorry to see such an oportunity lost, that you do wonder at vs that would

The Irish to be persuaded that he will be sent.

Florence M'Carthy greatly suspected. To be laid hold of as soon as possible.

Further supplies to be sent.

Carew to write privately, and also to the Queen, as instructed.

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wish you to persuade and assure that people that such a thing should be except wee thought it, or found our selfes able to enable you to kepe your worde with them who are now so incredulous that any thinge which is intended must needes be but some policy to serve a present turne, as they beginne again to vnite them selfes and stand better assured, each of other, then they dyd afore. You may conclude that the harts of princes is in Godes hand, and that you are sorry some other man (whose credytt is better to persuade as it seemes) was not chosen in your place, wherein yf you thought to be confined long you should think your selfe vnhappy, finding your credytt is decaying there with so long a retardation in this matter. The sooner you shall write answer vnto me what you do conceave—indeede much could have ben done yf you had had time—the better it shalbe, for, yf it procure him so that he can doe any good it is tyme well hastened; yf not, it may serve us all that have ben dealers for him for an argument, whatsoever happens amisse, that his not going hath ben the impediment of it. And in this lettre you may provide as many forcible argumentes as you can to proove that this had ben happy if it had never ben spoken of. Although you wrote but for 500 men yet wee have geven you 600. God send them well to you. And thus I committ you to God. From the Court at Nonesuch, this 6th of Auguste, 1600.

1600. August 6th.

Further supplies.

Your loving and assured frende,
RO. CECYLL.

[Holograph.]

We haue ordered that you shall haue victuaill which will last till October. Send us woord what you will have don in that poinct, and whyther, if you have money, you can not provide victuaill, or, if you can not all, what you can. Our supplies, I can tell you, come only apparreled and with swoords, for you must find arms there.

Indorsed by Carew, Mr Secretarye,
the 6th of August 1600.

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VII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604. 23. Original.]

SIR GEORGE CAREW,

1600. August 29th.

Carew's success in Kerry.

Althovgh I doubt not but you haue receaued many packetts from me of late, though I haue not heard one woord from you since Arthur[a] arrived with the newes of your good succcsse in Kerry,[b] yet cannot I choose but still contynue the office of an absent friend to discourse by my lettres of the thinges of the world. To speake of Munster—it only belongeth vnto me to assure you that never more care was taken, whereof I trust you haue divers testamonies, if the supply of all you aske be sufficient. For Desmond there is now more assented vnto then by my last lettres I could advertise, for he is vppon termes to be sent vnto you forthwith, vnles from you (before he gett over) there happen some advertisement to disswade it. There is a patent drawne and ready to be signed for his Erldome, but it shalbe delivered into your handes vnder the great seale of England, and then to be delivered to him as you shall see a party likely to come to him; for I must tell you true, I fynde that her Majesty (and not without good cause) is mervailous doubtfull of theise considerations; ffirst, whether he may prooue a Robin Hoode

Desmond to be sent, but the Queen is still apprehensive of the result.

[a] Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy 1604. Created Baron of Belfast 1612. Ancestor of the Marquis of Donegal.

[b] After the escape of James FitzThomas, Carew made an inroad into the country of Edmund FitzGerald, Knight of the Valley, and took the castle of Glinne, the principal stronghold of that chieftain, by storm. Several other castles were yielded to him. He then invaded Kerry, and captured the castle of Lixnaw, carrying devastation throughout the country. Patrick FitzMaurice, Lord of Lixnaw, was so affected with grief at the loss of his chief house and the ruin of his country that he died, and his son Thomas, by Joane, daughter of David Lord Roche, became his successor. Several of the principal leaders of the rebellion in this neighbourhood made their submission. Thomas, the new Lord of Lixnaw, sought also, through his wife, a sister of the Earl of Thomond, to be received into protection upon conditions, but was refused except upon absolute submission, and a promise that he would do service against the rebels, which he refused, as being inconsistent with his honour. His suit was therefore rejected.

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1600. August 29th.

as well as the other (of whose abatement there is hope by your labour, though this gentleman should never be sent): secondly, shee doubteth whether by the sending and present creating of him she may not allsoe runne the danger of a scorne, if when he is sent there should follow no great matter; of all which, because you may iudge better then I, vse him as you thinke good when you haue him, for soe you shalbe directed; and, although it seemeth you could haue ben content to haue only had him as a prisoner, yet my lords, owt of desire to ease your woorks, have wonne some better conditions of her Majesty, for he shall go, as I wrote before, well accompanied, and some gentleman (not as a jaylor, but as his friend) shall bring him to you. Out of other partes of Ireland we heare nothing but well, for since the plantation at Loughfoile the traytors have kept at hoome with most of their forces, which hath given the Deputy meanes to doe good services, as well in the Pale as in Lease and in Ophaly; but to speak of any thing yet done (whereof any abatement growes of her Majesty's charges) I fynd nothing; for at this present the Queenes army is 16,000 foote, for we lately sent over 2,000 more vnder captaynes, and 800 for supplyes to Loughfoyle, and 600 that are at the water syde for you. Think, I pray you, whether this be not a rownde charge, and whether there be not that will say that others proove as chargeable, and doe as little, as they, as noe great effect do follow, but this be still contynued from 12,000 to 14,000, and from 14,000 to 16,000. In Loughfoyle the greatest woorke that they haue done is to make them good and strong lodginges before the wynter, having fortified well at the Derry, and since Sir Arthur O'Neile came to them planted an other garrison at Donelonge, which is within foure myles of Strabane. Other matter of importance they haue not done, and of late (which was noe small error) they suffered the traytor O'Donnell [a] to come in the night and take away three score of the best horses they had

Affairs of the North.

Strength of the army.

Loughfoile.

Sir Arthur O'Neil's submission.

[a] Hugh Roe, son of Hugh Duv, son of Manus, Lord of Tirconnell, was inaugurated O'Donnell 1592. He fled to Spain in 1602, where he died the same year. He was a man of great ability.

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1600. August 29th. without strocke, wherevppon Sir Henry Dockwra[a] tooke the alarm, and following the poursuite fell into the ambuscade of 80 of the rebells horse, whom he charged with 30, and broke through them, but was vnhorsed and sore hurt with a staffe, and yet recouered agayne and brought of. It is found that McSwyne ne Do[b] was a principall actor in this practise; wherevppon he is taken and sent to Dublin, where I trust a halter will saue her Majesty's penson. Sir Arthur O'Neale remaynes constant, but feaw or none are come to him. The expectation we haue now is to heare the garrison is planted at Armagh, where it is intended to leaue 1,000 ffoote and 100 horse. The Rebells caused to be given out in the north that a ffleet of Spaniards was arrived in O'Donnell's countrye; but as that is prooved a fable, soe am I confident that none will arrive this summer in any parte of Ireland; yet this you shall vnderstand, that our Commissioners haue broken off the Treaty in France only vppon poinct of precedency, wherein, although it is true that her Majesty stood (somewhat to longe) to haue it with soe prowde a nation, yet, at the last, her Majesty was contented to haue yeilded to an equality, but they, in the end, protested that, if it weare not to preiudice them towardes France (with whom they contend for presedence) to grant

McSwiny na Doe captured.

Rumoured arrival of Spaniards.

Treaty with Spain broken off on the question of precedency.

[a] Sir Henry Docwra was a distinguished officer in the Irish Wars. Appointed Constable of Loughfoile for life 1604, and Treasurer of Wars 1616. Created Baron of Culmore and Lord Docwra 1621.

[b] Mulmurry MacSwiny na Doe. He was well thought of by the English government, and had been granted a pension of 6s. a day for life, and the command of 100 English soldiers. He was sent to assist Sir Henry Docwra at Loughfoile, but treacherously drove out of the garrison a number of horses, which, by previous arrangement, were captured by O'Donnell. Docwra discovered this guilty act by intercepting the messenger to O'Donnell, and McSwiny, being charged with it, could not deny his guilt. He was thereupon seized for the purpose of being sent to Dublin for trial, and was placed on board a ship proceeding to Dublin under the command of Capt. Flemming. Docwra, writing to Cecil under date 29 Aug. 1600, says of McSwiny "that he kept his bed by reason of a disease which the surgeon of the army testifieth he was troubled withall indeed. He suddenly rose naked from his bed, leaped into the river, and recovered the shore on O'Cahan's side before we could overtake him." (State Papers, Ireland.) Elizabeth, his sister, was the wife of Hugh Roe O'Donnell.

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to England an equality which giveth a priority to France, such was their desyre to haue had peace vppon honourable conditions, as, although they weare absolutely forbidden to remayne at Bollen any longer, yet if, vppon the retourne of her Majesty's Commissioners into England, she would be pleased to procure the Low Countryes to ioyne in the Treaty, they would meet in any of the townes in Holland, and give the precedence, or, if her Majesty could not procure a ioynct Treaty (if she would send to Wynoxberges,[a] or any of the Archduke's townes), they would give also her the precedency; but to treat any longer in France, where presedence was demanded, they would not. To this was added (vppon the breaking vpp of the Treaty), that they would hold it still in beeing for the space of three-score dayes, in which tyme the Queen might consider her answeare. Thus, do you see, there is yet a kynde of vegitation which we will keepe on foote; but, for my owne part, when I compare how this curiosity differeth from the former greedines that was shewed, I am iaylous least their myndes are altered since the tyme they first begann the treaty. That may be out of theise two reasons: ether that they should thinke that her Majesty is sufficiently intangled with Ireland; or that they are in hope to prevayle over the Low Countryes; whoe indeed (to tell you trew) doe everie day grow worse and worse; for, although it is trew that God gaue them a compleat victory before Newport, yet was there never less vse made of such a victory, for immediately after they sat down before a great fort called Albertus, which they meant to take in because it hindered their seidge of Newport, that enemy (soe overthrowne) drew head agayne, and raysed the States army after it had planted and battered the fort ten dayes, in soe much as all they could doe was to rise without loss; and soe the army lefte Flanders whoal, savinge that it had ravaged, as all armyes doe, and came backe

1600. August 29th.

Battle of Newport.

Affairs on the Continent.

[a] Berg or Bergues St. Vinox, on the river Coln, at the union of several canals which lead to Dunkirk, Gravelines, St. Omer, Furnes, &c. It was the last town in West Flanders which held out for the Dutch in the 16th century; but, being taken by the French in 1658, was confirmed to that country by the Treaty of the Pyrenees the following year.

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1600. August 29th. quiettly agayn into Zealand, from whence they haue dispersed horse and foote into garrisons; and, which is worse, there is a great pyke between the States and Count Maurice,[a] he protesting that he liked not to beseidge Dunkerk, but that it had been better to haue gone to Sluez; they, on the other syde, taxing him for noe better following of the victory. You can well consider, if this shall not be appeased, how easye a way it would be founde to dissolve the government when private parshallityes shall open a gapp for practises, Holand and Zealand being now at pike for contributions. The likelyhood of these cold warres makes the Erles of Northumberland,[b] Rutland,[c] and Grey[d] to repent their iorney, being half in mynde to goe into France, where there is some appearance of a warr, whereby Spayne may be lapped in the quarrell, for the French Kinge being now on the ffrontyer, thinking to haue taken possession of the Marquisate of Salues, according to the Duke of Savoyes agreement, the Duke made soe many delayes from 20 dayes to 20 dayes, as in the end the King sent Marshall Byron into Bresse, where he spoyled much of the countrye, and hath taken Bourge. On the other syde De Dagueres[e] hath entered into Savoy, and hath taken Chambery and Mont Melion. I am perswaded that the only end of this will be that the King shall have the Marquisate rendered for theise places lately taken, and soe the Pope to reconcyle the matter, for, weare it not for that moderator we mought have had some little hope that Spayne and France would goe together. The

Marriage of the King of France. King marrieth in October at Lyons,[f] and yet hath made Madame de

[a] Maurice, Count of Nassau, brother of Philip William, Prince of Orange, whom he succeeded in 1618. He was appointed Governor of the Netherlands, 1587. Died unmarried, 1625.

[b] Henry Percy, ninth Earl of his house; died 1632.

[c] Roger Manners, fifth Earl; died 1612.

[d] Thomas Grey, sixteenth and last Baron Grey of Wilton; died in the Tower, 1614.

[e] Francois de Bonne, Duke of Lesdiguieres, Peer, Constable, and Marshal of France, Knight of the Orders of the King, Governor of Dauphiny; created Marshal of France 1608; died 1626, aged 83 years.

[f] To Mary de Medicis, his second wife. The marriage took place on 9th December.

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Etragues[a] Marquise of Vernueil. Out of Scotland we haue receaued advertisement verie freshe and true that the King was attempted to be slayne by the Earl Gowry[b] and his brother, whereof one of them assayled him in his chamber when the King lay in the Erles house at St. Johnstones, but he was slayne by the Kinges people, and soe was his brother allsoe. This Erle was of the religion, and a verie gallant gentleman. The causes of his discontent are not known, but it is sayd he did it in revenge of his father's death, whom this King executed; but, whatsoever it was, God forbid but all such barbarous attempts should pay iuste ransome. Of our home fortunes one (whereof I am sure you will be gladd to heare) is this, that the Erle of Essex, vppon his humble petition to the Queen to haue soe much favour as to be licensed to goe into the country in respect that his health begann to decaye, is pleased to grant him liberty to goe into Oxfordshire to one of his vncle's howses, with this commandment that, although she is contented he shall hold himself to be vnder no guard but the guard of duty and discretion, yet he must in noe sort take himself to be freed of her Majesty's indignation, in which respect he is commanded to forbeare to presume to approach the Court or her person. That distinction of being free from guard, but vnder indignation, makes verie feaw resort to him but those whoe are of his blood, amongst which I imagyne the Lord Henry Howard[c] will not be longe from him. Concerning our selfes we are all as we weare. Sir Walter Raleigh[d] hath been here a suter for the captaynshippe of the Ile of Jarsey (Sir Anthony Paulett being

1600. August 29th.

The Gowrie Conspiracy.

The Earl of Essex licensed to go into the country.

Home news.

[a] Henrietta d'Entragues, the successor of Gabriella d'Estrees as the King's mistress. She had obtained from the King, before she submitted to his desires, a written promise that, in the event of her bearing him a son within a year, she should be raised to his throne and bed.

[b] John Ruthven, third Earl of Gowrie. He and his brother Alexander were both slain, and his honours forfeited.

[c] Second son of Henry Howard, commonly called Earl of Surrey, and grandson of Thomas third Duke of Norfolk, created in 1604 Baron Howard of Marnhill and Earl of Northampton. He built Northumberland House at Charing Cross. Died unmarried 1614.

[d] See note [a], p. 13.

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1600. August 29th. dead); he hath verie good hope, though my Lord Henry Seymour[a] doth earnestly stand for it. My Lord Cobham[b] (since his iorney into Flanders,) is a courtyer, and doth marrye at Michaelmas. My Lord Thomas[c] hath been away all this sommer in Devonshyre; from whence he hath brought up my Lady Bevill, whoe is wyddow. For my self, believe me I am in mynd, body, fortune, and all affections iust the same I was when we last shooke handes, and soe wilbe ever

Your affectionate freend that longeth and careth for you,

RO. CECYLL.

From the Court at Oatlandes the 29 of August, 1600.

Indorsed by Carew, "29 August, 1600. From Mr Secretary."

VIII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604. 31. Holograph.]

SIR,

1600. 29 September. Although I never dyd impart vnto the Queen that you dyd ever yeld to receave James Garrett vppon other Terms then with an apparent record of his title, to be shewed to that Generation of Incredulity, so as it proceedeth meerly out of her Majesty's own ab-

[a] Third son of Edward first Duke of Somerset. He married Joan daughter of Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

[b] Henry Brook, eighth Baron; see note B, p. 8.

[c] Sir Thomas Howard, second son of Thomas Duke of Norfolk, created Lord Howard de Walden 1597, and Earl of Suffolk 1603. He married Catherine, one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Henry Knyvett, knt. of Charlton, co. Wilts, and relict of Richard son and heir of Robert Lord Rich. The Lady Beville mentioned in the text was Frances the other daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Knyvett. She married, first, Sir William Bevile of Kilkhampton, co. Cornwall, knt.; who dying in 1600, she married, secondly, Francis Earl of Rutland, and had one daughter, who became the wife of the favourite Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

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1600. 29 September. The matter of the young Earl of Desmond.

solute will (who will not be wonn but with strange degrees), yet I will hope that you will make some good vse of him, because you dyd to me particularly write your mind, which I was ever resolute not to open, because I knew how apt she would have ben to have taken hold even of less, if less cold be; being now, therefore, as it is, I do hope God will bless it, but we must, in this case, make some advantadg to our selfs in this kind: that, seeing it may be dowbted how it will succeed, that we may say If our counsaile had ben followed the success wold have ben greater, and so her Majesty shall not have advantadg over us, seeing the best part of our Counsaille hath ben neclected. I pray you, therefore, write to me in this sort:— that you will not presume to say to your soveraine what may be the reason of this manner of sending him, because her Majestie will haue it so, to whose devine and piercing judgment you will subscribe, but you can not be so dull as not to be bold to say to me that you can not discover yet the mistery of this proceeding, which is the high way to overthrow the service, and to you an vtter disabling of ever prospering there; besides, that except I had picked out a way to haue imposed impossible things vppon you, whereby you are in perill to be for ever ruined, you dyd not think but my lords and my self would haue ben pleased to have kept this cupp from you. We send you a Ientleman whose credytt must draw followers, and nether do we give him any thing whereby to Inuite them, but shorten that which hath ben ever promised, the matter of the Tytle, which is nothing when it is giuen, and if it were giuen is imediately extinguished if it be not deserved; besides, you never desired to haue him possessed of it, but only to haue had it your selfe in keping, that they might haue seen how far the Queen had gon. You may therein desire that the Queen will distinguish what it is to deale with such as are bound by no religion nor honesty to her (nay rather bound by their wicked religion to disobey her); you may also lay downe how great a triumph this wilbe to all McThomas' party, how it wilbe vrged that you are an Imposter, of whom, in particular, how little soever we regard, yet for the Queen's seruice

Carew to write what the Queen may see.

Instructions for letter.

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1600. 29 September. it is not good that you be contemned, who hope when your courses (since your coming) and your success shalbe balanced, that you haue deserved no such reward. I haue but given you grounds, follow them as you shall see further cause; but yet, if by this alredy any good do come, take it at bound, and yet expostulate hither still that you cold never haue Imagined (if her Majestie knew all the circumstances) of the Infinite distruction to her seruice that she wold not in this degree haue assented, though but to haue gained one good Castle or Rebell, nothing being more grafted into their harts then that, indeed, her Majesty loves not to raise any of them. I hope this will draw on the grant, and that it will be sent, alwaies I assure my self if any matter of Importance be don (whereof by your next write what she may see, and particulerly what els you think good apart), but, Sir, God knoweth I labour like a Pack horse, and know that if success be nought it wilbe scorn to me, and, now that I see how troublesome it is to work things as they should be, I vow to God I wish you out of that Contry, and myself a Plow man rather then to contemplate the vexation which that Kingdom will bring vppon vs. Vppon consideration how to procure remedyes for necessityes I think it good that you do plainly tell Desmond, for so dyd I, that though you know how sure it is that the Queen will do it, yet that you do see if nothing be don (now he is come) that it wilbe long or never, so as it were good for him now he is with you (which is inogh to make them see her Majesty's meaning) to proceed to fall in hand to send for them, and to them, that are his freends, and to desire them to do somewhat lest the Queen shold repent that which is alredy; and in my conscience he might do well to fain him self sick, and so not go abroad, saying, if any thing were don for him he knoweth the Patent wold be sent, and till he haue it, he may say, privatly, that he had rather keep in then go much abroad. By this you shull see some of their humours, and (which is a thing I look to) If you discover plainly that nothing wilbe don there, and that her Majesty will not vppon your letter proceed to give him a Patent (thogh other matters stey),

To write also privately.

Desmond to be urged to exert himself with his friends and followers.

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1600. 29 September.

trewly I wold even send him faire back againe; for by God, thogh her Majesty be in the Fault of her own Seruice, yet she wilbe apt to tax vs if such a thing happen, which If he live in your House may be best provided for. And trewly, sir, it were not amiss If you dyd write back hyther for leave to retourn him, and to inculcate still that you wold have ben gladd he had neuer come thyther; keep it still and vse it as you see probability what they will do, which I believe you shall much discover, even by his Resydence, thogh, but in the Fashion which you receaue him. The change was strange, for I protest to God the patent was ready, and the Pen brought to signe it. There is one circumstanc of which I will make the best use I can. The archbishop,[a] who I thoght (as you find) shold haue come over, will not now come except the Patent be sent, which he desires only as we haue moved it, and not to be absolutely deliuered, because he hath promised it, and knoweth the suspense will breed a 1000 jelousys. Now, Sir, he shall stey, and it may be told Desmond that he shall bring it, If any good accident happen vppon his coming ouer. I will also make the Bushop believe that I know that the first good Advertisement which comes hyther will make it to be sent, and this will I tell him so confidently as I am sure he will write it, and by my troth, in my conscience, so it will prove. Thus, do you see, I haue neuer don; but my zeale to the Queen's seruice and my assurance that all evill success shalbe layd on me, thogh I be inocent, makes me handle these points two and fro; and, in a woord, now you know all humours, all accidents, and all I know,

If nothing be done to send him back again.

The Queen refused to sign the patent, although the pen was in her hand.

[a] Myler Migrah, Archbishop of Cashel. He was a Franciscan Friar, but, having conformed, was promoted to the see of Cashel in 1570. He was reduced to great distress in consequence of the rebellion, and was obliged to leave his see. It appears from the Acts of the Privy Council that about this time the Queen desired the Lord Keeper to present him to some benefice in England, which he might hold *in commendam*, and on his going into Ireland with the young Earl of Desmond, he, Patrick Crosbie, and John Poer were granted, respectively, 100 marks, 40*l.* and 30*l.* by way of reward and recompence for the services they had done and might do, and also for their better encouragement for any such further services as they might perform in connexion with the young Earl. (Privy Council Reg. vol. xvi. 386.)

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1600. September 29. This letter to be returned.

vtere iudicio tuo, and if these observations may further oportunityes I shalbe gladd (and more gladd then 500li land). When you write by Price retourne this.

Yours,
R. CECYLL.

IX.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 50. Holograph.]

Sr,

1600. September (?).

I need say nothing to you of this bearer Patrick Crosby,[a] but I do know he loves you, and is wise and willing to do service. I send him even purposely to bring me some nwes from you vppon Desmonds arrival, that he may let me knoe how the world goeth, which by a tre can not so well be vnderstood. I know he will further all good courses about Desmond, and be vigilant for you over those that wold seek to pervert him. In his prodigality be round with him, and let him know how straight chardg you have receaued. And thus, referring the rest concerning him to this bearer, to tell you how necessary I think it is for you to keep him in discipline, I end

In favour of Patrick Crosbie.

To restrain young Desmond's prodigality.

Your loving frend ass:
Ro. CECYLL.

Superscribed in another hand, To my honorable and verie loving freind Sr George Carew, Knight, Lo. President of the province of Munster in Ireland.

No date, but indorsed by Sir George Carew, Received 4 October, 1600, from Sir Ro. Cecyll.

[a] Patrick Crosbie was descended from the Crosbies of Great Crosbie in Lancashire. His father settled in Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and had two sons, Patrick the elder, and John the younger. Patrick did good service in Ireland, and obtained a grant of lands including the estates of O'Moore, in which he was succeeded by his son Pierce, who, it is said, was created a Baronet, but died 1646 s.p. He received a grant of 40*l.* for this service; see note A, p. 27.

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X.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 36. Original.]

SIR GEORGE,

1600. September 24. The young Earl of Desmond sent into Ireland.

Now is the howre come that you shall receaue the person of the Erle of Desmond, soe called here by curtesye allready, and soe resolued by her Majestie to be, as may appeare by the Patent which you receaue; only this is the difference, that her Majestie will see some imprest of other men's promises, before she give plenarye satisfaccion, wherein I protest vnto you noe one thinge hathe made her more to sticke then the doubt which she hath that there will be nothinge done for him worthy of soe great a favour. For the matter, I must now speake to you my opinion, that you and I haue made a great adventure to presse and importune for a thinge soe subiect to ill successe, in a time when most thinges are iudged by effect, and shall especially be applied vnto vs, because the mallice of some and the ignorance of others haue taught them this odd sentence to hinder any thinge (they would not haue or vnderstand not) by sayinge: Yea, but he may proove a Rebell hereafter. I pray you, therefore, when you haue him take this counsell of me, whensoever you fynde any cause to doubt him never feare to lay hold of him, for therein we will never blame you, but we will take it for a thinge that was necessarie, *Quoniam ipse dixit*. In which poynt now that I am fallen, methinkes it not amisse to consider whether, before he be absolutely planted in the cuntry and seated. after some good effectes risen by sendinge over, it mought not be tryed whether those noblemen to whom he is allyed, and principall persons who thirst for his restitution (beinge such as are meanable to Law) would not enter into such cautyon for him as might, indeed, tye them, it beeinge straunge to me to see what cautions one Rebell gett of an other, whereby they hold one an other, and to observe that the Queen is never the better by any pledges she receaueth. Next I am

The responsibility of Cecil and Carew.

Desmond to be seized if suspected.

How to be provided for.

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1600. September 24.

of opinion (how secure and trustfull some of our good freinds are) that itt will be a shrewd temptation to settle him in any of the landes that haue been passed to vndertakers, because he will still haue a fancye to encroach more and more, In which respect, though this is but my sodayne conceipt, I would thinke it much the better way to make his fortune out of the landes of his Cosen, the titularye Erle, and some other Rebells, because it may be the harder worke for them to patch vpp one with an other, as they will easilye doe agaynst the Queen. In the observation of the yonge gentleman's disposition I fynd this to be in him, a mynd easylye raysed, but professinge to be tyed to honest grownde, and soe truly I thinke he is, but spendfull beyond measure, and therefore you must haue a warye eye over him. For the beginninge I hold it the greatest safetye that he lodge in your howse, whereby, because I do consider what a chardge it will putt you to, you shall perceaue by the Queenes lettre that I haue found a readye way to ease both her Majestie and you, and thereof to make you your owne Paymaster. For you have from the Queen authority to rayse a company of an hundred, and to convert their pay towardes the mayntenance of him, to which end, because I fynd some Sycophantes about the Deputy apt to vrge my partiallty in all thinges that concerne you, although I haue procured you her Majesties hand, yet haue I allsoe procured her Majestie to write as much to the Deputy, soe as you here perceaue that by concordation you may make vse of such part of the pay of the 100 foote as you shall see convenient, within which compasse and vnder I doubt not but you will cut out the cloath of his mayntenance, for, if he were to liue from you tomorrow next, her Majestie would thinke 500li by yeare an honorable pention for him. It is not possible to thinke how turbulent a spirit this Cashell is, whom I haue been forward to content because I would not giue him occasion of any other dependency, assuringe you, which I pray you keep secrete, that but in regard of the feare he hath to displease me, I founde cause to suspect, by somewhat that I heard, that he was apt enough to report that all that was yet done was soe vsed as it was

Danger of giving him any of the undertakers' lands.

His character.

To receive the pay of 100 men.

The turbulent spirit of the Archbishop of Cashel.

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like to prooue to nothinge, for that the Rebells, fynding now that nether their corne nor their cattell could be sure, haue come in hand over head vnto you, and soe save their goodes, but are apt to goe out agayn when they list. In this you best know what is trew, and what haue been your reasons, whereof I nothinge doubt, for I will neuer expect that you will doe contrarie to your owne positions, nether can I doubt but you are well able to distinguishe of those that doe come in how farr they are in your power, and what benefitt they make by this comminge in, wherein suerly, seeinge such persons can yeild to so great burthens to mayntayne forces for rebellion, somewhat would be imposed vppon them as they come in towardes the defrayinge of her Majesties charges; ffor, as I well consider, and soe all persons of iudgement, euen the Queen herself, attribute as much comendacon as can to any man for all your proceedinges hether to, both with vallour and discretion, soe will it be an excellent mean for you to stoppe the vnderhand detractions of envye if once in matter of charges we feel the effects of your laboures. For the matter of Spayne, assure your self there comes noe succour, for we are agayne solicited for a treaty, which I must confess I grow now more hopefull of, because there is great appearance of warres between France and Spayne, still, gayninge vpon Savoy, and the Duke attendinge 6,000 Spaniards to helpe him, vnder the conduct of the Count Fuentes, which should haue come downe into the Low Countryes, but now must help to succour him. For Florence McCarty, if he could be made an honest man, it weare pitty to loose him; and I assure you, to make him an Erle of the Queenes gifte, I doe not think but she would easyly be induced if he seek it vppon any good imprest of loyalltye. It weare verrie good that you did discover him as well as you can what may be looked for of him, for I see by you that you take him to be one of the strongest Rebelles. There comes in the company of the younge Erle a soon of Jhon FitzEdmondes,[a] on whom the Queen hath bestowed a penccon of one

1600. September 21.

Cecil's confidence in Carew.

Hope of a treaty with Spain.

Florence McCarthy may be made an Earl if he seek it.

Pension granted to James FitzEdmonds.

[a] The only persons who were permitted to accompany the young Earl, besides his necessary servants, were James FitzEdmonds, son of John FitzEdmonds (FitzGerald of

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1600. September 24.

hundred markes in reversion after his father. He hath made two other sutes, the one to haue some men to kepe his castles, the other to surrender all his landes, and to take them in soccage. For the first, for ought I see, he is rich enough and craftye enough, soe, as many a man hath sued for that which hath more neede of it, and therefore, in that pretend you to haue no warrant; for, although I know he is wise, and hath keept a good forme, yet I am not ignorant that he might doe more then he doth; but I haue vsed his soone with kyndnes, and the rather because you know how deere he is to a good freind of ours[a] (who is in Jarsey); besides he pretendeth to be much affected to this Desmond, and I see his soone much follow him, amongst which persons if any should be made to give cautyon it weare not amisse that ould FitzEdmondes weare wrapt into bondes for him. Concerninge Derby O'Connor,[b] because it is reported he will retourne when Desmond comes, it weare not amisse he had some landes given him of the late Rebelles, if so, he will come, and, vppon your recommendac̄on, he may haue a penccon, thereby to fester agaynst them the more, for I protest I think he meant faythfully, though he carried it fearefully and fondly, which, seeing it fell out soe, I never acquaynted any body that you extended your offer in money for James McThomas (as you wrote) further then you had warrant, because now it is reported that he is weak, and if all thinges be as dearly bought, then where are the fruites of service? Soe, as happily if you should open the stringes of the Queenes purse too wyde for that particuler, itt will not be vallued as formerly it would haue been. To conclude, Sir, my care is not little for the state of that Province, both for loue of it, as it is the Queenes, and for loue of you, whom, God is my wittnes,

John FitzEdmonds.

Dermot O'Connor to have a grant of lands.

Cecil's concern for the province of Munster.

Clone) and one of the Poores, to whom he is said to be beholding." (Captain Price's Instructions, Privy Council Register, vol. xvi. p. 386.)

[a] Sir Walter Raleigh.

[b] Dermot O'Connor. On the young Earl's arrival in Ireland he sent for Dermot. The latter immediately obeyed the summons of his brother-in-law, but on his journey he was attacked by two of the Burkes and killed.

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1600. September 24.

I hold as deare as any Livinge, whereof I doubt not but when you shall consider you will excuse many of my remembrances in this lettre, because they are but vapours of my restles thoughts, and but the seales to confirme those professions which I haue made, and will ever performe. I haue bestowed your Gaushawke from you vppon M^r^ Chancellor,[a] which is taken wonderfull kyndly. If you did, but for fashion sake, remember the Lo. Admyrall[b] and the Lord Threasurer[c] with a couple of Pugges or some *vscough baugh*, or some such toyes, it would shew that you do not neglect them, whoe, I protest, are to you wonderfull kynde. My Lord of Thomond's Gaushawk brake her legge and her wynge before she came to me. He hath made sute to come over, wherin I could wish him in noe wise yet, vntill some good effect might bring him hyther. I haue written to him accordingly, which I pray you deliver, and haue giuen the partye that brought the hawkes to me seaven poundes for his paynes; yet he brought me my Lord Thomond's Gaushawke with her winge broken; and soe I comitt you to God. From the Court this 24^th^ of September 1600.

Hawks and dogs.

Your loving frend till death,

RO. CECYLL.

Since the writing of this letter my Lo. Audley[d] is arrived, whom I haue vsed to his content vppon your recommendacon, soe as such discourse as he hath had with the Queen he hath applyed in your commendation. But, Sir, I pray you give me leaue still to reason with you in this kynd. You haue held the position in former tymes that the warr of famyne must end the Rebellion. There is no man now that cometh out of Ireland but reporteth that

[a] Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1589—1603.

[b] Charles Howard, second Lord Howard of Effingham, K. G. 1575, created Earl of Nottingham 1596; died 1624.

[c] Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, created Earl of Dorset 1603; died suddenly in his place at the council table 19th April 1608.

[d] George Touchet, eighteenth Lord Audley, created Earl of Castlehaven in Ireland 1617; died the same year.

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1600. September 24.

Policy of dealing with the rebels.

victuall is [in] great plenty, and that most of theise that are come in haue saued them selfes in their goodes and corne by the temporarie submissions, wherein they will contynue as long as they list. How the case standes in that poinct I pray you lett me know, for as far as I can iudge, savinge those that are powerfull Rebelles, whose taking in advanceth the service, the other course of receaving in all free holders had been better to haue been changed into severity to some, for example; except they whom feare hath only brought in might haue payd some price by yelding somewhat towardes the payment of her Majesties forces, that we might feele an abatement of some nvmbers of the foote which now her Majestie payeth, for other it will be sayd that this which is done is nothinge in substance but a blaze and shadow of victory, or els there would be fewer nvmbers, especially vntill the next springe, mayntayned; whereof there hath risen here much dispute why the last 600 should be sent ouer, considering the charge of the leavy and the transportation, which, indeed, is great, for they haue lyen there six weekes at the sea syde. I doe assure you if they weare to be written for agayne I could wish they had been forborne; but now I must referre thinges to your discretion, of whose societye and conference I feele noe small privation. I doe fynde that many would wishe this yonge Erle placed in some howses and landes that weare his fathers. I pray you lett vs take heede of such an example for many respectes, for I assure you I should be thereof verie iealous; I would rather thinke it a good pollycie if that knaue Florence be gone into Spayne to give him some of his landes, and especially some of his castles, for the recovery whereof it is like enough the countrye may assist him better then they will do the Queen, and I am informed that such is the nature of that countrye, that those passages beinge kept it would prooue defensible agaynst great forces. Now if I be not deceaued there hath been ancyent mallice between Florence his ancestors and his. Next I am informed that the Lo. Maurice [a] of

Jealousy of placing young Desmond in any of his father's houses or lands.

Rather give him some of Florence McCarthy's lands.

[a] Patrick FitzMaurice, Lord of Lixnaw. His son Thomas succeeded him. He married Honora, daughter of Connor third Earl of Thomond. It is said in the Four Masters that

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1600. September 24.

The Lord of Lixnaw's son a vile and ill-natured fellow.

Lixnay being dead, his soone is a vile and ill natured fellow, whose possessions are fayre and might be a good gyfte for this yonge Erle hereafter; only, peradventure, it will be obiected that he hath married my Lord of Thomond's sister, which matters of kindred I doe not see much respect for. I see that my Lord of Thomond hath been a good subiect and he a Rebell, and they say that know this man that he is a most pernicious varlett. Here hath been many propositions who should go with this yonge Erle, wherein my care hath been that noe such man should be employed as should retourne with a spiritt of detracc̄on from that which you desseve (*sic*). Sir Thomas Willford [a] refused it, and here weare some that would haue imployed p f b v o y y (?), of whom you know whether I had not reason to be iealous in your behalf. At the last I bethought me of a vallient honest man, Captayn Price, to whom I pray you give good usage, for he hath noe designe but to performe the Queenes command and retourne as soon as he can. I haue been a meanes to recommend the brother of Patrick Crosbye [b] to be Bishop of Kerry, who is one you know that deserveth favour; they say that he is an other manner of man then Sir Walter Rauleigh's last silly preest.

Captain Price to accompany the young Earl.

Yours,

Ro. Cecyll.

she fled from the plundering and insurrection of her husband, and came to her native territory under the protection of the President and the Earl of Thomond, and afterwards died at Dangan. (vj. 2153.) It is stated in Pacata Hibernia that this Lady Honora procured the murder of Maurice Flack, a very brave servant of the Lord President, and that her brother, the Earl of Thomond, upon hearing of it, was infinitely grieved, and that for it he held his sister in such detestation, that from that day forward to the day of her death, which occurred not many months afterwards, he never did see her and could not abide the memory of her name. (Book i. cap. xiij.)

[a] Sir Thomas Wilsford (the elder) of Heding, co. Kent. He had served with some distinction in Ireland. His eldest son, William, married Anne, daughter and heir of Sir Peter Carew, the younger, but died s.p. His second son, Thomas, was knighted at Whitehall 1607.

[b] John Crosbie, younger brother of Patrick Crosbie (*see* note [a], p. 28). Having entered holy orders, he became Prebendary of Dysert in the cathedral of Limerick, and was advanced to the Bishopric of Ardfert (Kerry), by patent dated 15 Dec. 1600. The

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1600. September 24. The Archbishop of Cashel wronged.

Although I haue written in the former part of this lettre that I suspected the poore Bishopp of Cashell to haue been a detractor of the course of takinge in the Rebells, yet I must confesse that I haue done him wronge, for I fynd it now to come from the other springe and not from the poore man, to whom I pray you confirme the allowances to him, and if there be not such a northerly warrant come from the Deputy about his petitione, then pay it him by concordatas in the mean tyme, and it shall be allowed. There was order giuen to the Threasurer, now when the last treasure went over, to see you satisfied with some treasure, but it cannot be come as yet to you, because it is not yet ten dayes since the wynd serued to carrye it ouer.

Indorsed, 24th of September 1600,
from M^r Secretarye.

XI.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 34. Original.]

S^r,

1600. September 28.

It remayneth nowe that you do well compare the dates of my lettres, and apply your memorye to the wonted dystincyons of this place, or els must you needes condemne me to be very idle in my dyspatches. In short, therefore, you must know that, notwithstanding all the poore credytt I had, I could not dysswade her Ma^tie from deferring to signe Desmond's Patent, althoughe I dyd lay before her howe infinite advantages and opportunities would be lost, but it pleased her to be still fixed that she would see somethinge effected

The signing of Desmond's patent deferred.

royal visitors, in 1615, speak of him as "homo admodum civilis coram nobis." The Queen's letter speaks of him as "a graduate in schools, of English race, and yet skilled in the Irish tongue, well disposed in religion." He married a daughter of O'Lalor of Queen's County, and left issue two sons and four daughters: ob. 1621. His descendant was created Viscount Brandon and Earl of Glandore (1776; extinct 1815).

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1600. September 28.

before she did absolutely giue him the tytle; styll laying before me what a storme she should receaue if he should effect nothinge, and then Tyrone might laughe at her double, as he hath done already at the comming in of S^r^ Arthur O'Neale, whom he callethe Queen Elizabeth's Earle[a] that cannot command 100 kerne. Secondly, she is of opinion that he will not be followed vnlesse the undertakers' land may be giuen him, which if it be, or any parte, he will neuer be satisfied tyll he haue all their landes. To this last poynt of hauing the vndertakers' land I made an aunswere that thereof might be taken hereafter good concyderac'on, wherein, as in all, I referre myselfe to your better judgement, yet this much for the first; I do conceaue yf all Rebells be taken in, it is not possible that they will longer be good subiects then the sworde hanges over them, and, therefore, surely, Sir, as in my other lettres, some free holders would not be taken in with pardon of lands, but left out if their countries be good and lye in no remote places. There haue ben three or iiij^or^ spoken of, amongst the which Pierce Lacy is one, whom her Majesty would be gladd were made an example, except he doe some uery merytorious act to make him for euer irreconcyleable. There is one O'Callahan who hath a contry nere Mallo, which, they say, were fitt to be adioyned and not parted. There is one Challishe also, an old follower of Desmond's, who was a pryncypale practyser to rescue James McThomas. But aboue all Fitzmoris of Lyxnaw[b] that marryed the Earl of Thomond's syster, who hathe goodly possessions, and were an excellent place to seat Desmond. For Dermot O'Connor, there is some speache that he will come backe, to the which truly he would be invyted. But one thinge I see of great preiudyce to the Queen: that if he come in he will look to haue pay for all his men, which if there be any nombers it will multiply her Ma^ties^ charges. Me thinkes, therefore, hir owne person might

Some free-holders not to be taken in if their countries be good.

Pierce Lacy.

O'Callahan.

Challishe.

Lord of Lixnaw.

Dermot O'Connor will come back, and will look to have pay for all his men.

[a] See note [a], p. 7.

[b] Thomas FitzMaurice, Lord of Lixnaw, see notes [b], p. 18, and [a], p. 34. He was indicted for treason in 1601, but was pardoned in 1605, which pardon he pleaded in the King's Bench in Dublin, in Easter term 1616.

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1600. September 28.

be maintayned, and some Band of foote in the Queen's pay, and the rest authorised to live vppon the Rebells' contry as they were by the Rebells vppon the subiect. But, Sir, the more I wryte the more I am dystracted between these doupts, which makes me bothe wryte confusedly, and, in this kynd, rather to conferre with you then to direct you. The doupts that I have are not that the Queen will not make him Earle, for my soule assureth me that she meaneth it, and I knowe she doth but attend some signal feate by his sending over, which once being done, vppon your next advertysement you shall see howe fast she will come on. But, Sir, here is my feare: that those who are deryved from the seedes of jalousy and infydellity will sooner apprehend the impression of that which is not performed (and so worke precypitate effects), then tarry owt the tyme that will permytt for them to receave consumac'on of the worcke. Besydes who doth knowe what douptfullnes it may worke in the Earles freindes, that he shall only be vsed on a stede, so as I see almost an impossibilitie imposed vppon you, when you must vse him with caucyon that he do not escape and yet giue him such reputacyon as they may not be ialous that he shall never be other, when a turne is serued, then a petty compagnion. I pray you, therefore, aboue all thinges, haue some confydent person in his company, least some Stratagem be vsed to haue him taken in some parley, and wherin, thoughe it be true that he were betrayed, yet the State here will thincke it a Plott. Next I pray you sett your wytts togeither what habytacyon to fashion for hym, for styll I assure myself if he haue not other meanes found, but to haue those thinges past to the vndertakers, that his knaues that followe him will still vrge him to weary them out by one meanes or other. There is, therefore, no other way then this, to giue him some other great Rebell's landes, that there may alwayes be fewde betwene them. Yf Florence be gone, he is gone for ayd out of Spayne, and then wyll he land them in the west seas, not farr from O'Sulyuan Moore's[a] contry, of whom

Cecil doubts not that the Queen will make Desmond Earl, but will wait for some special feat..

Cecil's apprehensions.

Desmond to be secured from capture.

Where shall he be seated?

Proposal to give him some great rebel's lands, and the reason.

Florence McCarthy.

[a] O'Sullivan More was the chief of a sept dependant upon MacCartie More, by whom the chieftainry was conferred by the delivery of a white wand. Sir Warham St. Leger,

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1600. September 28.

I heare not what has become synce he was caryed to Tyrone. To conclude, Sir, I hope God will turne all to the best, wherin you may take some good cullour to haue some extraordynary care over that young Earles person (thoughe in my conscience I doupt him not), because you heare of some devyces to steale him away against his will, a matter of which you may pretend to be informed, and surely, for my owne opynion, I doe thincke it lykely at Parleys that they will attempt it. And soe I commytt you to God. From the Cort of Oatlands the xxviijth of Sept. 1600.

Your very loving and assured freind,

Ro. Cecyll.

Superscribed, To my hon^{ble} and loving friend Sir George Carew, Knight, L. Presydent of Munster.

Indorsed, 28 Sept. 1600, from Sir Ro. Cecyll.

Letter to Lord Barry.

I send you herewith a coppy of my lettre to the Lord Barry,[b] whereby you may perceave what aunsweare is made to his sutes.

in a tract on the State of Ireland, sent to Burghley in 1588, on the occasion of the marriage of Florence MacCartie, called O'Sullivan More "Lord of a great country;" and, in proposing the extinction of various Irish customs, he says, "the gevinge of the rodd to be abolished, and all those meane lords to hould their lands of Her Highnes." O'Sullivan More's country was in the county of Kerry, and lay on the north verge of the estuary of the river Kenmare. It contained 200 plough lands, and O'Sullivan was bound to provide 50 galloglasses on a rising out, and in the yearly spending the value of 20*l.*

[b] Copy of a Letter from Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord Barry.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 240.]

My Lord,

I haue ben sollycited by your l'res, and by your sonne (whoe is now in perfect healthe, I thank God,) in diverse sutes which you have propounded, with all which I haue acquaynted her Ma^{tie}. Whervppon I haue receaved this answere: that she hathe well accepted of your faythfull endevors in this tyme of so great and monstrous a defection in others, wherof her Presydent hath from tyme to tyme advertysed her, and when she shall see any frute of this extreame charge whervnto she hath ben put, she resolveth to make the difference knowen betwene the corne and the chaffe. In the meane tyme her

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XII.

[Lamb. MS. 604, 40. Holograph.]

1600. October 1st.

If you shall not remember where I dwell this Dispatch will torment you, becawse it is Incertaintys with Imbroderys; but rather then I wold haue taken all this pains, and you not haue ben acqwainted with all our Alterations, I thought good to send you all the same even raption as I wrote them. And, for short, this is all the plaine treuthe, the report of the Bishop's[a] protestation to the ffs being related to the Queen was the only motiue that recouered this patent. He desires to be the carrier, and the yong Erl being departed out of London and without it I haue comitted it to his hands, for now it is sealed with the great seal of England. Sir, now this is don the

Deamond's patent signed.

The Archbishop of Cashel to be the bearer, the Earl having left.

Ma^tie sayth that she hath ben pleased to gyue you the charge of a band, which, though it be not that whereof you are worthy, yet she is not so ill informed of the state of that contry but that she can well conceave that there is never a nobleman who is lord of a contry and hath followers to whom a hundred foote in her Majesties pay is not of greater vse then the best pencyon she hath ever given in Ireland. And, therefore, my Lord, for aunsweare to your demandes of land belonging to James McThomas, I pray you vnderstand this in the best sence. It is suche newes to her May^tie to hear that she hath any thing to give in that Provynce where she mayntayneth so great nvmbers, as she intendeth to suspend the satysfacc'on of any man in that poynt vntyll she may be informed what it is she parteth withall, a course which she prescrybeth to her selfe out of no indysposycon towardes your Lo. or many others of good quallytie and merytt that are suters, but only because she taketh it a lytle to soone to be moued before she knowe howe tytles depend, and what may be fytt for one and fytt for an other. For the captaynry of your Lordship's contry; as other lords enioy any aucthority from the Queene her Majestie meaneth to deale with your Lordship as well as with any of your rancke, wherein I could haue wyshed you had moued the Presydent to haue recommended it, because I know not in what sorte to demand it. I pray you, therefore, acquaynt him with your desire in that poynt, that he may recommend the same particularly, as he dyd for the company and the land, and then shall your Lordship to them both receave a dyrect aunsweare.

Endorsed in the hand of Cecil's Secretary,
1600, 30 Sept.
Coppy of my Master's l're to y^e Lord Barry.

[a] The Archbishop of Cashel; see note [a], p. 27.

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1600. October 1st.

Queen will not pay any great soomms for James McThomas, and therefore now must his friends know they must woork, or els plainly she will revoke him. Sir, I think Castle Maine [a] wold be a very acceptable pleasure to her, and an argument that might be vsed to the world that the Queen getts somewhat by him good for her self, as well as for him. As concerning his expenses, let him know he must liue frugally, and within the compass of 500[li] yearly, till he be seated, and lands giuen him, which must be recouered. Besyds, you may tell him that he may tell his followers what he thinks good, but that you haue but 500[li] allotted, and that, if he consider well, it is a fayre pension. He may be also told that he shall come over, when he hath don any good, and marry in England, whyther it seems he longeth to retourn, and I assure you, in my opinion, he will neuer much like an Irishe lyfe, for he is tender and sickly; but time will shew. In any case place well afected persons about him. I pray you, Sir, remember good pledges vppon the Whyte Knight [b] whilst thinges are prospering well, for it is sayd you will be cosined by him at last. You can not please the Queen better then that some of the principall knaues of name be hanged. It is sayd that Cahir [c] can deliuer Doctor Cragh [d] when he list. It were well tried to impose it vppon him, not as the doer, but vnder hand, for he can

No great sums to be paid for James FitzThomas.

Castlemain would be very acceptable.

The Earl to receive 500*l.* a-year, and must live frugally.

May come over and marry in England.

Is tender and sickly.

Good pledges to be taken upon the White Knight.

[a] Castlemaine was in the keeping of Thomas Oge FitzGerald of Kerry as Constable for the Sugane Earl: upon the summons of the young Earl it was surrendered to the Queen. This appears to have been the only service done by the young Earl in Ireland, and the merit of this is questioned by the author of Pacata Hibernia upon the ground that it was so closely invested by Sir Charles Wilmott that the Constable had no alternative but starvation.

[b] Edmond FitzGibbon. His father John FitzGibbon was attainted of treason in 1571, but Edmond was restored in blood. He married Ellen daughter of Tobin of the Comshenough, and had three sons and three daughters. Maurice died in his father's lifetime, and his only daughter and heir married Sir William Fenton, son of Sir Jeffrey Fenton. John died s. p.; and Thomas was living in 1616. This family is said have descended from an illegitimate son of an Earl of Desmond by the wife of one called Gibbon O'Gwyn, whereupon the name of FitzGibbon was assumed.

[c] Sir Theobald Butler, created Baron Cahir, co. Tipperary, 6th May 1583.

[d] Dermond MacCraghe, called the Pope's Bishop of Cork. He was a faithful adherent of the Sugane Earl.

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1600. October 1st. do it with a wett finger, and it will make him Irreconciliable. Let Dermot's wyfe[a] haue some maintenance, and content the Arch Bushop with good woordes, for he doth speak very well of you whatsoeuer he thinks, and in this matter of Desmond may be swerly trusted. God send it well, and some act to purpose to follow, that may visibly stopp the mouths of those that here lagh at it because it is our Plott. I shall neuer end, but that my sleep surpriseth me, and, therefore, bear with this Rapsœdy, you shall haue no more sich. From the Court this first of October 1600.

Yours *al solito*,

RO. CECYLL.

Indorsed, Mr. Secretary, the first of October 1600.

XIII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 44. Original.]

SIR GEORGE,

1600. October 8th. Although I haue written so many lettres to you of late as I might geue ouer tyll I heare answer from you, yet the change of accidents may geue occasion of variable consideration both in publicq and private things. There hath ben written this day from Ireland certain newes from Mounster, to which I geue no credytt untyll I heare it confirmed, and yet hath one of the best counsaillors of that kingdome (when he hath related the matter) concluded with this sentence, "Yf there were no wiser then myself, or that I could haue my wish, I vowe to God the yong man Desmond should neuer see Ireland, for I feare her Majesty supposing to putt downe a badd one will rayse vp a worse." The news are in these words: Captain Richard Greene (Greame) hath done very good service of late, for

News from Munster.

[a] See note [b], p. 4.

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1600. October 8th. Defeat of the Sugane Earl.

he fought with the pretended Erle of Desmond, as he was marching vnto Arcklow, slew his sonn and 60 of his cheefest men, with two or three of the Captains of his Bonnoughts; he took his cowes, his sheepe, his garrons, his munition, and all his baggage; he fetched them out of the woods, and neuer leaft following of him vntil he droue them into Leix with 300 rascalls with him, not having scarse a ragg about him.[a] Whether this be true or false I know not; but, Sir, I pray you lett vs now fall into this consideration:—Yf it be that James McThomas be at so low an ebbe whether there be so great peece of work leaft behind for this yong gentleman as that it might not be done without him, and so the honor geuen to your sword and industry, as well as to adventure him abroade, when, if he prooue nought, you know the perill lyke to ensue, and (which doth not a little trouble me) how apte our enemies wilbe to throwe vpon vs (that haue ben authors of the counsaill) the imputation of any future badd success. I pray you, therefore, let vs be wyse as serpents though wee be as simple as doves, and yf, vppon his comming ouer, you find no great taske to be done by him, rather take a true and wisé way and make sure of him that he cannot escape, and aduertise hether what you thinke; for, take this from me, vpon my lyf, that, whatsoeuer you do to abridge him, which you shall say to be done out of Providence, shall never be imputed to you for a fault, but exceedingly commended by the Queene; for, God doth know it, the Queen hath ben most hardly drawen vnto it that could be, and hath layed it in my dishe a dozen tymes: "Well, I pray God you and Carew be not deceaued." You haue, therefore, now the

His low estate.

Nothing left for the young Earl to do.

To be made sure of.

[a] The Sugane Earl, being reduced to great extremity, and constantly pressed upon by Sir Charles Wilmot (see note [a], p. 41), was constrained to abandon Kerry, and make his way by Conniloe to the fastnesses of Arklow. Sir George Thornton, who commanded the garrison of Kilmallock, intercepted his progress, and Captain Richard Greame, who commanded the horse, charged several times with great gallantry. The rebels were completely broken and fled. "They betooke themselves to running, and our men to killing, and surely, had not our horse been overwearied with their long forrey before they came to fight, and our foot tyred and out of breath to come up, there had not one man escaped aliue." (Pacata Hibernia, chap. xiv.) This disaster proved the complete overthrow of the Sugane Earl.

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1600. October 8th.

law putt in your owne hands. Yf there be not much to doe you may marchand the more prowdly with his followers that should doe any great thing for him, because the perill is so much the less to discontent them by how much there remayneth less for them to doe. It is trew that now the Titulary Erle is gone downe, and with him Piers Lacy, for my owne parte I see not almost what great act he is to doe, but therein I must depend vpon your advertisement. And, forasmuch as peradventure some man may say that the State shalbe slandered, that this was neuer intended but for a practise; that matter may be easily carried from any such imputation, for whatsoeuer shalbe don by you may succeed some new accusation which was not extante at the first counsaill, and therein I hope no prince is tied to such bondage, especially when they may see that he hath not his patent but vpon condition of some great service first done, wherein yf ether none be done or remaine to be done, then is the promise free; besydes, Sir, it shalbe an easy matter for you to cullor whatsoeuer you shall doe in that kind by this course. You may ether apostate some to seek to withdraw him who may betray him to you, or, rather then fayle, there may be some found out there to accuse him, and that may be sufficient reason for you to remande him, or to restrayne him, vnder cullor whereof they wilbe more greedy peradventure to labour for him. Fynally, I pray you observe him whether I misiudg him or no. First, I see one thing, that a meane fortune will neuer content him, with which disposition assure yourself the Queen will not be much pleased. Next, he is in nature prowde, and, yf he euer should be suffered to meddle with the Vndertakers' lands, his teeth would water tyll he had devoured them all:— so as, although these adventures might haue been overseen when that Province was so ill as worse it could not be, yet I confess every perill now obiects it self to my sence, and for no reason more then when I contemplate what a vexation it wilbe when our owne actions are efficientes of after repentance in a tyme when no judgement is made but by the success. Thus haue you now the fruicts of my mind's agitation, and such discourse, provisionally, as I should hold with you

May be accused and betrayed.

His character.

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yf you were present: but all that here is sayed is but myne owne, and knowen to no sowle liuing but the writer whose hand I vse at this present in regard of a fluxion in one of myne eyes, though, yf there were no such cause, you know how much I do and may trust his fidelity. The Deputy is by this tyme at the Newry going to plant at Armagh, and the army still kept vp at 16,000. Her Majesty resolveth, lyke a wise prince, to cutt of a good part of the same, so as, of necessity, you must provide to lessen yours, or els I must truely say, that your enemies will still say, "What is the Queen the better for all this charge?" Besydes the Deputy and Counsell of Ireland do continually, vnderhand, write that they can bate no great numbers in the whole yf you do not contribute to the diminution. This is the reason which hath made me repente the sending over the supplies, and makes me desire still that the first proposition of diminution may come from your self, for you can remember how you concurred, vpon your arryvall, with the augmentation. As soon as you may, lett me heare from you, for methinks it very long; and still remember what I say vnto you—blame shall neuer betyde you for any caution (how curious soeuer) in the managing this yong *Puer male cinctus*; And so leaue you to God's protection. From my lodging at the Savoy this 8 October 1600.

1600. October 8th.

The Deputy at the Newry.

Forces to be reduced.

Dark hints.

Your loving and assured frende,

RO. CECYLL.

XIV.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 46. Original.]

S^r^,

I haue receaued this evening, and not before, your pacquette by Smith, which finds me at London, from whence I resolue to make you some answer; though I doubt not, before this ire arryue, but

1600. October 15th.

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1600. October 15th. my sundry dispatches will sease vpon you, when Desmond arriveth. In one of your tres of the first of Octobre I find some clauses wherevnto I am in some payne to make answer, for even indeed they vary in themselfs from the very tres which come in the same pacquett: a matter which I know is common in tres of several dates, but yet in this point, wherein you desire to be resolved, your arguments are somewhat obscure; for you say that this taking in of the Rebells is the way to end the warr for the tyme, but not to secure it for hereafter; which future temps, yf you do limite ether to the comming in of the Spaniards, or to the day of disastre by the Queenes decease, (whome God long preserve!) for the first I am not of opinion there will any arryue in haste; and for the second, lett that vnfortunate tyme care for itself:—secondly, you say you durst not vse force because you knew not how it would be here accepted. Surely, Sir, I do not know that you were enjoyned to any course, one or other, neither do I remember but that euer I tould you that for example's sake her Majestye would expect that some should pay the randsomes of their rebellions; and (as I conceaue) your owne project was, after your return from Kerry (during which voyadge you meant to leave those at your back as quiett as you could), that you did not intend to pardon any vpon base conditions, neither (for ought I know) could I haue wished a better choise then of those five villaynes, who yet are leaft, I mean 124[a] (James FitzThomas), 125, 128, 4012, 1047, whereof, as it ap-

Vague letters.

[a] 124 unquestionably represents James FitzThomas, and there can be little reason to doubt that the other four numbers refer to John FitzThomas his brother; Piers Lacy; Edmund FitzGerald, Knight of the Valley; and Thomas FitzMaurice Lord of Lixnaw. These five were excepted by name in the "open pardon of lands, goods, and life granted to all inhabitants, men, women, and children, within the Province of Munster," in December 1600. The three who fled the country were John FitzThomas, who was reported to have gone into Ulster on 30th August, and FitzMaurice and Lacy, who were stated by Carew, in writing to the Council on 15 December, to be there. On 23rd September, Carew represented James FitzThomas to be "no better than a wood-kerne;" and in the letter to the Council, to which reference is above made, he says of the Sugane Earl that "he is never accompanied by above two persons," and that the Knight of the Valley "leads but a poor life." (See also note [a], p. 10.)

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1600. October 15th.

pears, three of them are fledd the contrey, and two are but in poor estate, whome I wish neuer forgeven. I am onely not satisfied why 123 (the White Knight), so wealthy and pestilent a knaue,[a] should be still borne with, yf you be not secure of him, for the war were easily made vpon him. It is true that in my conscience 1089 (Thomond) is come as well to see how wee are disposed to proceed with the generall as for his owne particular; wherein, because you shall know his nature, I protest to you before God when I readd vnto him 2049 (Carew's) letter written in his commendation (as yf he had been the son of Jupiter), and vsed these words vnto him: "You see 2049 (Carew) hath giuen you great commendation;" he answered me, "By God he hath not said so much as I deserve;" so as I assure you there need not any other president then 1089 (Thomond), yf you beleeve ether what he hath done or what he can do. But, Sir, I haue vsed him well enough, and yet, receaving his ẗre brought by himself before this (which I receaue but this night), I had gon very farr vpon your recomendation in my fundation of him and his sutes. Where you do think he loueth 1044 (?), and betrayeth 1045 (?), I beleeve you are deceaued, for of 1044 he rayleth to me detestably, and sayeth 1045 is one of the honesteth men in Ireland; of whom he hath shewed me divers intelligencies, which he hath sent (as he says) to 2049 (Carew) since he departed. Surely, Sir, the ẗre that you haue written I dare not shew it, for divers causes: first, for that which was contayned in cyphre in the 10th lyne, which your self well doubteth: secondly, because your ẗre speakes so dryly of all the future likely to follow your actions, as it is enough to make her Maty beleeve that all this which you haue done is not worthy thanks. Having, therefore, found in other ẗres, at that instant, nothing but multiplication of good newes; and finding, likewise, that there are yet principall persons leaft for the sword, I haue forborne to putt this jalousy into her Majesties head, which, by your privat lettre would haue ben

Certain rebels not to be pardoned.

Earl of Thomond at Court.

Cecil unable to show Carew's letter.

[a] The pestilent and wealthy knave was Edmond FitzGibbon, the White Knight. (See also note [b], p. 41.)

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1600. October 15th. raysed, and meane rather to shew your ire to the whole Borde of the 29th, wherein you write judicially enough and warily, nether preaching everlasting security, nor making all you haue don not worthy present thanks, because it may be it will haue his relapse. Besydes, when that pacquett was written I saw you were more jalous of 4004 (Florence McCarthy) then you were afterward, and then did you not know of Desmond's arryvall, who now I hope is with you; so as, although I haue suspended the shewing of that ire for the reasons aboue said, yet may you, when you will, write what you will, in which you may better iudg since these alterations then you could do before. And truely, Sir George, I can not think:— first, that you would haue taken in many of these you haue done yf you had not found that they were vnwillingly leadd into Rebellion, and would continue; for it can not be but you might haue, of divers of them, vsed your pleasure; so as I do think your proceedings hetherto might haue this issue, that although her Majestie may not call away her forces, yet she may abate parte of them; and that many of those that are come in might haue it imposed vpon them, for some tyme, to pay (as they do their northern bonnaghs) some part of those forces which the Queen must keep in the contry. Hereby, first the fruicts of your service shall appeare, for wee accompt those services substantiall which wee feel as well as wee see; and yet, in maintaining some round forces, I am of opinion, good pleadges being taken, some of the great ones pleased, and some castles well chosen and guarded, there would be no rebellion in hast; nether am I of opinion that half this could haue ben at first yf Sir Tho. Norreis[a] could haue drawne 500 men to head, and durst haue stood to it: so as this is my conclusion: yf you will haue thankes in this tyme, bate some round portion of the foote yf you haue sped well with 4004 (Florence McCarthy ?); whereby her Majesties charge may be eased this winter; and yf need be, wee may chop ouer some new companies toward summer: to which work me

Thinks some forces may be abated.

[a] See note [c], p. 6.

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1600. October 15th.

thinks one thing will geue much furtherance, which is to forbeare bestowing of companies in the Townes, which will keep themselfs: and so much for this point. It remayneth now that I say something to you concerning Anyas,[a] who hath neuer deceaued me, for I haue held him a villain. First, the Lord God doth know it, that my soul neuer had the thought to consent to the poysonning of a dogg, much less of a Christian. True it is that, to take a Rebell alyue, or to bring their head, I was contented to heare his promise, though, for myne owne parte, I neuer beleeued him; I do therefore pray you and conjure you by all the love you beare me to find the meanes to take him, and, seing he hath otherwayes offended the Law, be assured of this from me that it must be his hanging and publicq confession that must cleare us from this odious imputation. Remember, Sir, what I write, I pray you, and think of it, for there is no other way to cleare it; and, know this from me that, when you haue him, yf you keep him long alyue, he will escape from you by one meanes or other. Send him not over therefore, nor spare not his lyfe, for then it wilbe thought, whatsoeuer he sayeth to cleare vs, that it is to safe his necke. The neues we haue had out of France are of the French King's good success styll, and of some lykelihood that the King of Spayne[b] wilbe drawen into the warr. In the Low Contries all thinges are at a stay; and from

Annias' charge.

Must be hanged.

News out of France.

[a] The career of John Annias was a very eventful one. We first find him as one of the instruments in a design to murder the Queen. Associated with him was one Patrick Cullen. Both men were apprehended and confessed all they knew about it. Cullen was hanged, but Annias offered to expiate his fault by doing her Majesty good service. He was for some time confined in the Tower, and eventually liberated. According to his own story, the price of his pardon was the poisoning of Florence MacCarthy. There is ample evidence that he was employed by Cecil as a spy, if not for darker purposes, of which there is no small ground for suspicion. Having spread the report that the English minister had engaged him to perform the base act above mentioned, he was apprehended by the Mayor of Cork (John Meade) in 1601, and committed to the castle of Dublin; but, notwithstanding Cecil's earnest entreaty, he was not executed until Nov. 1602. A very interesting account of this man may be seen in the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archæological Journal, vol. i. new series, p. 402.

[b] Philip III. 1598-1621; died 1621.

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1600. October 15th

Ireland, since the Deputy was at Dondalk, from whence he purposeth to go on to Armagh, wee haue heard nothing from him, so as all this while the army continueth at 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse. Consider, therefore, I pray you that, if all this charge, nether with you nor els where, make things no better then they are in your last ambiguous ẗre represented, it wilbe said that the difference between this yeare and the last is of small importance; and so I leaue you to God's protection.

London, 15 October 1600.

Yr assured loving frend,
Ro. Cecyll.

Capt. Greame to be rewarded.

The service which Capt. Greame[a] hath done deserveth great recommendations; but it appeareth by his owne ẗres that the booty was so good (it is somewhat strang) that no part should come to his share, being no such bootys as come home in the Carricks which Marriners can putt in their pocketts; I pray you, therefore, adventure vpon the Extraordinaries to giue him 100*l.* and it shalbe allowed.

Addressed, To my honorable and loving frend,
Sr George Carew, knight, Lo. President of Mounster.
Indorsed, From Mr Secretarye,
the 15th October 1600.

XV.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 54. Original.]

Sir,

1600. November 8th. The young Earl of Desmond.

I haue receaued your lettres by Captain Prise, whereby it appeareth how you meane to proceede in making tryall of the affections of such as depend vpon the yong Erle, of which course her

[a] See p. 43 and note.

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1600. November 8th.

Respecting Florence McCarthy.

Majesty well approoveth, and now attendeth the issue by your next lettres. In the matter of Florence, wee hope by the next to receaue some certainty, seeing in many lettres of late you haue vsed speeches that you would dryue it to some conclusion, in which point it seemeth something strang to me that Captain Prise reporteth that you should say you would haue prosecuted him yf I had not restrayned you, wherein I must needs professe that you haue ether mistaken me or he hath mistaken you, for, yf you obserue all the lettres that I haue written, you shall find that I made jugement of nothing which commeth not from you, nor euer send you directions without leaving them to the latitude of your owne discretion; and for this matter you must remember, when you wrott of your going into Kerry, you professed you would temporise with him tyll you came back, and when you were there you wrott that you found nothing in him but perfidious delayes, besydes so extreame ambition as you became doubtfull whether it were not convenient in some kind for her Majesty to yeald therevnto; vpon which lettre it was written to you again that you should prosecute him when you saw your tyme, except some convenient satisfaction would contente him. Within few daies after you wrott that such a day you would beginn to draw head vpon him, and then to prosecute him yf new matter from him proceeded not to your liking. Since which tyme you know what is written, and therefore yf wee do but mooue as you do mooue, and change vpon your grounds, then must your owne reasons be accoumpted the author of your owne resolutions, wherein you neede not be doubtfull more then wee are of you, seeing all that you haue hetherto vndertaken hath sped so well, and is so well taken. In this point, therefore, I will hold you no longer, but onely to remember you that I exspect dayly to vnderstand what you haue done with that wicked and horrible wretch Annias, who hath geuen out (as it seemeth) so vile an vntruth of you and me concerning Florence, of which I protest to the Lord I neuer intertayned the thought. I trust, therefore, you will come by him by one meanes or other, that he may paye the randsome of such a villainy.

John Annias.

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1600. November 8th. Respecting pledges.

In your lettre by Captain Prise you make mention of the matter of the Pledges, wherein I think it is meet some consideration be had to remooue them. I haue acquainted her Majesty and my lords with the same, who do allow well of the course to send them out of the Province, except you could there bestowe them with more security, whereof yourself can best iudge; but I must lykewise tell you what her Majesty will exspect in that matter, or else, yf I might advise you, they should neuer come ouer: first, you must be assured how they shall be maintayned without charge to her Majesty; secondly, and aboue all thinges, you must forsee that they may appeare of valew that are sent hether, or els it will rather discredytt you then otherwise. I pray you, therefore, lett me know by your next who they are, and for whom they do lye. You dyd (as I remember) touch it vnto me in some lettre that you found neuer a subiect in Munster, nether riche nor poore, that had not neede of a pardon, wherevpon, in deede, I do gather that it wilbe convenient to take some such course to secure the minds of them that haue not ben openly out, that no aduantage of their priuate jougling and trafficquing one with an other, shalbe obiected to them; but herein I desire to receaue particuler information from you in what sorte you would haue this Pardon speake, and with what exemptions. You shall vnderstand that wee haue receaued lettres of the 26. of October from the Lord Deputy by Sir Olyuer St. Johns,[a] who leaft him at the Newry. It is very true that he hath carryed him self very gallantly at the Moyry, as it shall appeare vnto you by this abstract inclosed, the Traytor Tyrone hauing neuer showed himself since that tyme, but dyd retire into his contrey very suddainly vpon the newes contayned in this abstract; neuertheless the Lord Deputy doth not resolue to plant the garrison at Armagh, because it wilbe hardly

Of pardons.

Affair of the Moyry.

[a] Sir Oliver St. John, second son of Sir Nicholas St. John of Lydiard Tregoze, co. Wilts. He greatly distinguished himself in the wars in the Netherlands and in Ireland. He was made Master of the Ordnance 1605, and Lord Deputy of Ireland 1616. In 1622 he was created Viscount Grandison in the peerage of Ireland, and in 1626 Baron Tregoze in that of England. Died 1629 s. p.

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1600. November 8th.

possible to leaue 1,000 men there victuailled, so as not to dryue her Majesty from tyme to tyme to hazard an army to supply them; but this hath growen by differing of this journey too long in the yeare, and yet his Lordship meaneth to rayse a fortification in the mydway between the Newry and Armagh, that wilbe to good purpose for the present, and, when Armagh shalbe planted (which may be in the spring) that mydway-plantation will make all convoyes safe to that garrison, which, yf it should haue ben now settled, besydes the miserable season which the soldiers should haue endured before they could haue entrenched and accomodated themselfs, theire lack of fewell would haue dryuen them to fight euery day of the week for their wood. There is also this notable accident lately fallen, whereof good vse may be made: Connorough McGuire, who is in contention for the contrey of Fermanaugh,[a] came lately into my Lord, but his

Contention for the country of Fermanagh.

[a] Phillip Maguire, ninth Lord of Fermanagh, had two sons, Thomas and Brian. Thomas succeeded as tenth lord, his son Thomas Oge as eleventh, and Thomas Oge's son, Connor More, as twelfth. Whether Connor More's son, Connor Oge, succeeded as thirteenth lord is not very clear, but the fourteenth lord was Philip, the son of Brian, the son of Philip the ninth lord. From Philip the lordship descended to Saltagh, or Hugh, the son of Sir Cogh Connogh by a daughter of Manus O'Donnel, Lord of Tirconnel. Saltagh was slain near Cork by Sir Warham St. Leger, when the lordship was claimed by his brother Cogh Connogh Oge, and by Connor Roe the grandson of Connor More the twelfth lord. Tyrone embraced the cause of Connor Roe, and advanced him to be chief of the nation. Cogh Connogh Oge, thinking himself wronged, rose to arms, making what party he could to suppress his competitor, in which he was assisted by Cormack McBaron (O'Neill), whose daughter he had married. Connor Roe submitted himself to the Lord Deputy with great assurances of faithfulness, notwithstanding that his son was a pledge with Tyrone. He was therefore expelled from his country by Tyrone, who set up another Maguire. Young Maguire, having escaped from Tyrone, joined his father, and they both did good service at Moyrye. The father had his horse killed under him, and the son was seen to kill two or three men with his own hand. They took the son of Cormack McBaron prisoner, who was a young man greatly esteemed among his people, and one whom it was thought the Irish would choose O'Neill after Hugh the present Earl. It is said 2,000*l.* would have been given for his ransom. He was considered the best pledge upon Cormack, and the second best pledge upon Tyrone himself. The Lord Deputy Mountjoy, writing to Cecil 12th December, 1600, says, "The old man is the only honest Irishman I have seen since my coming hither, and, believe me, Sir, is the wisest man I have known of his nation. He came in

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1600. November 8th. sonn remayneth prisoner with Coconnaug McGuire, and yet on the very day of the fight at the Moyry he brake from them, with his handlock vpon his hand, and offered my Lord to do good service in that contrey yf he might haue any assistance. Herevpon my Lord gaue him pay for as many horse and foote as he brought in, with the which he immediately returned, and, finding Cormack McBaron[a] in the way, encountered him and gaue him a great defeate, and hath taken his oldest sonn prisonner, whome he sendeth to the Deputy; which, in trueth, is one of the best pledges in Ireland. The Deputy doth presently fall to abate 3,000 of the army, and writeth ouer that yf wee look for any more it must be done in Munster. Wee do, therfore, tarry tyll wee heare from you, for I do assure you (be your seruices neuer so great) yf you will make them to be felt here you must abate your armye, whereof I write vnto you but by way of preparation, for, vntyl wee heare from you, you shall haue no order, and that being done will content the Queen the rather proceeding from yourself; and, yf there be cause, toward the spring you may be renforced again; in the reduction whereof you shall do well to worke a reformation of that which is here much spoken of, which is that a third part of your armye is Irish, of whome I doubt not but you will rydd yourself when you deminish the forces, and so keepe vp that Army with English. I thinke it not amiss to acquaint

Reduction in the army.

without conditions." He surrendered his lands to the Queen for the purpose of receiving them again by letters patent under the Great Seal. (State Papers, Irish, Eliz.) Coconnogh appears, however, to have succeeded in establishing himself in the lordship. He fled with Tyrone in 1603, and died at Genoa on 12th August 1608. His son was restored to a tract of land called Tempodessel (now Tempo) where his posterity resided down to the present century. The last was Brian Maguire, an officer in the East India Company's service, the notorious dueller. He married Honoria Ann daughter of James Baker, esq. of Ballymoreen, co. Tipperary, and had several sons, some of whom are reduced to the condition of common sailors, although related to the Earl of Ormond, the Lord Talbot de Malahide, and some of the best blood in Ireland. (Four Masters.) In the genealogical portion of this note the pedigree in the Harl. MS. 1425 has been followed, which differs slightly from the Four Masters.

[a] Cormack MacBaron O'Neill, son of Mathew Baron of Dungannon, and brother of Hugh Earl of Tyrone. He lived near Monaghan.

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1600. November 8th.

you with my misfortunes, whereof God Almighty is the best iudg. This it is, that the Lord Deputy, because some lettres haue ben written vnto him vpon complaints of old servitors in Ireland that they haue had no charge, but yonger captains preferred, and vpon some reprehensions for large concordatums, and vpon admonitions to see reformations in the Pale for spoiles vsed by the Soldiers vpon the Inhabitants, for which the Lord of Hoath and Barnewell [a] came expressly ouer; his lordship hath written a bitter letter vnto me, presuming more of my frendship, accoumpting himself vnfortunate in his gouernement, complayning of the iniquity of the tyme, with some glanse that he doth in no way mislyke my extraordinary care of others so it weaken not my affection to him, with diuers other such phrases, wherein, I take God to wyttness, I am as wrongfully suspected, and haue as much laboured to keepe all blame from him (euen in petty thinges as well as in great) as euer I could haue don for you; but I write this to you in private, and do desire that so it may remayne, for, though, in my conscience, he is a little emulous of

Mountjoy's jealousy.

[a] Sir Nicholas St. Lawrence, twenty-first Lord of Howth. His sister Mary married Sir Patrick Barnewell of Turvey, and his own first wife was Margaret daughter of Sir Christopher Barnewell of Turvey, probably the sister of his sister's husband. Sir Patrick Barnewell, the person mentioned in the text, was knighted on 28th February 1585, and Sir Nicholas St. Lawrence, then son and heir of the twentieth Lord Howth, received the same honour from Sir John Perrot on 2nd May 1588. He became Lord Howth the following year, and died 14th May 1606.

It appears that great complaints had reached the Queen and Council of a lack of justice, of loose government, and of the ill employment of the troops in Ireland. These representations were strongly confirmed by Lord Howth and Barnewell, who came over to England specially upon the subject on behalf of themselves and other inhabitants of the Pale. The Privy Council, in writing to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland on 17th July 1600, say these gentlemen "haue produced many bitter complaintes of the fowle extortions by your souldiers, they haue represented the mysery of theire owne estates, they haue plainlie made it appear that, if there were no rebellion in Ireland to spoile them, the injustice used, and the army being suffered to commytt these outrages, would alone consume them, for, amongst other thinges, they make it manifest that those forces w^ch^ ought to lyue vppon the frontire only, are lodged vpon them whome they ought to defend," &c. The Lord Deputy and Council were strictly charged to abate these abuses. (Privy Council Register.)

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1600. November 8th.

your success, yet I do not find but that he vseth you well in all his writings hether, and therefore do you forbeare to seeke any thing which you would be loath to finde. To conclude, I would to God no frend of myne had any imployment, for (yourself excepted) I was neuer righted by any man liuing in this nature, and yet, for ought I know, I neuer sought to engage any of them for my sake into any thing wherein they were not ouer head and eares themself before hand. This fellow Pyne[a] hath made so many sutes as I think he would be Vice-president; I haue therefore sought to dispatch him, for he doth nothing but lay strong plotts and proiects, and yet it is so carryed as he can haue no cause to thinke himself other then beholding to you, as you may see by the stile of my Lord's lettres, wherein you may perceaue that wee restrayne yow to cautionary limitations; but, yf you will do wisely, kepe him with you, and send no such companions ouer. As for the Bishop of Cashell, he complains that he can not haue the benefit of her Majesty's grant.[b] I haue satisfied him that the fault hath not ben in you, because you had no full order to extende it to the vttermost. Seeing, therefore, you haue now receaued an explanation from vs how farr you may extend your warrant, I pray you to see his mouth stopped, and, for the rest, use your discretion as you see cause, for, though you haue liberty for the whole, yet you haue no certain direction to bestow more or lesse of it vpon any others then as you see cause, the scope being principally to ease the Queen's purse, for those things that

Henry Pyne.

Archbishop of Cashel cannot obtain the Queen's grant.

[a] The first notice traced of Mr. Henry Pyne is in March 1600, when he wrote to Cecil respecting the good services he had rendered in persuading the Lord Barry and others to stand fast to the Queen, and he intimates his intention of repairing to England with the Lord Barry presently after the arrival of the Lord President. On 18th May Carew informed Cecil that the Lord Barry was about to send his son to him by the bearer, Mr. Pyne, and, in September of the same year, Carew commended Mr. Pyne for his good service. During his stay in London, in charge of young David Barry, he acted as Lord Barry's agent. His Lordship, writing to Cecil on 24th September 1600, "craues his resolution concerning some requests he had charged Mr. Pyne to solicit." From the terms in which Cecil speaks of him here and in page 14 it is evident he was not a favourite.

[b] See note [a], p. 27.

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belongs to Desmond and his followers, with whom you can best tell how to deale. Thus haue I held you, to whome I can write no chang of any things concerning our private, onely this is true that meere necessity makes the Lord Cobham a married man, whereof there is yet no publication, but now is so pressed as, ether it must be declared or els must haue warrs. S^r^ Arthur Gorges[a] daughter is dead, which works in him shrewd effects, but he hath some releef by a composition made between him and the Viscount, who must pay him 400^li^ a yeare during his lyf, which will keepe the staff from the dore. 2048 (Raleigh[b]) hath ben in Cornwall, who is so partiall to the wyddow Hervye as he is apt to suspect you vpon all her complaints, who is a greedy beggerlye woman. For any matter of Spayne, they are all fooles that expect it, for it is in no case, the warr of Savoy being lyke to sett the two kings together, for all Savoy is now almost in the King's hands; besydes wee do yet intertayne the treaty on foote, though I haue no great hope of it. I would to God I might know what you learned of the Seneschall's sonn's practyse in Ireland, because the Archeduke might be charged with it,[c] and so would I know what may be written to the Erle of Or-

1600. 8th November.

Lord Cobham married of necessity.

Sir Arthur Gorges's daughter dead.

The Irish will obtain no assistance from Spain.

The Seneschal's son's practice.

[a] Sir Arthur Gorges married Douglas only child and heir of Henry Howard, second Viscount Howard of Bindon, by whom he had an only daughter Ambrosia, whose death is mentioned in the text. She was a ward of the Queen. On 10th May 1600 there was a decision in the Court of Wards to that effect, and a proposal was made for her marriage to Sir Philip Herbert, younger brother of William third Earl of Pembroke (and afterwards Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery), who offered the Queen 5,000*l.* in money and jewels. Sir Arthur Gorges made great means to have the disposing of his daughter himself, and intended giving her to the son of the Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Howard of Walden (see note [c], p. 24). This young lady's mother, and also her grandfather, died in 1590. The latter was succeeded by his brother Thomas Howard as third Viscount, between whom and Sir Arthur Gorges the agreement mentioned in the text was entered into. The latter died October 1625, on the 10th of which month he was buried at Chelsea.

[b] Sir Walter Raleigh, lately appointed Lord Warden of the Stanneries.

[c] No mention of the Seneschal's son's practice with the Archduke is traced among the Irish State Papers; but the Bishop of Meath, writing to Cecil on 25th November 1601, states that the Archduke shall invade England with 30,000 men. (State Papers, Irish Correspondence.)

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1600. November 8th.

mond[a] in particuler, because Capt[n] Prise, who is no excellent orator, could not satisfy me with any man's name with whose receipt I might charge him. I pray you allso to remember to direct your aduertisements of thinges done of publicq purposes in future (and of your demands and necessities) to the whole Counsell, and not to me in particuler, for I am much absent from Court, where, God doth know, excepting her Majesty's favour, I take no comforte, and, therefore, in my absence, it is some trouble, because I am fayne to deliure the publicq aduertisements out of your lettres singly directed to me, wherein are commonly some private things, which, being ouuertures of some plotts intended, or hopes of some services to be done by some speciall men (which are things to be carried more privately), are not to be read by others then by the Queen and my self. I pray you, therefore, make separation of these things when there is cause, otherwise lett no dispatch come from you but that my lords may see themselfs written vnto, yf they contayne only things of that nature abouesayed. And, for as much as Mr. Herbert is now called to place of honor, it were not amisse that you doe sometymes write vnto him a short lettre referring him to the generall, wherewith you know by his place he must be acquainted. This will take from him any opinion that you neglect him, and may prepare his minde to respect you hereafter, when peraduenture death, sycknes, or other accident, may throw you into his hands, as you now are in myne. And thus I bydd you fare well. From the Court at Richmond this 8 of November 1600.

Instruction for letters.

Herbert appointed Secretary of State, and not to be neglected.

Your assured loving frende,
Ro. Cecyll.

You may direct your lettres to him in this form, "To the Right Honorable M[r]. Secretary Herbert, one of Her Majesty's Privy Counsell."

[a] Thomas tenth Earl of Ormonde and third Earl of Ossory, called the Black Earl. He was educated in the English Court, and was the first of his family who conformed to the Reformed Church.

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[Holograph.] 1600. November 8th.

All things are as my other lettres haue mentioned concerning 2026 (?), and, as my genius tells me they will so be a good while, when any chang is toward you shall know. I haue moved the lords to write vnto the city of Cork about the leud vsadge of the yong Erl of Desmond,[a] to whom I haue sent this copy that he may be comforted, for indeed Captain Prise sware to me all this was trew which is written, he being by. I wish the Erl a reasonable maintenance of this company, but not too great at first. Vse you it as you find good.

Send me your opinion whyther you had not rather do as the Lord Deputy (I find) cold wish it, to spare your companies from Monster into Wexford, Ossory, and other places, then to case them. My end of writing it is, because in those places, thogh they be not in your government, yet they may, on a soddain, be returned, and you shall be the better in quiett by their neighborhood, and yet shall haue the honour of abatement, because the L. Deputy hath meanes (by your transferring them ouer to him) to case so many elswhere.

Indorsed, 8 November 1600. From
Sir Robert Cecyll.

XVI.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 65. Original.]

SIR,

My soare eyes must pleade my excuse for vsing another man's hand, and yet I durst trust the pen of this framengo when I write 1600. December 15.

[a] The young Earl in a letter to Cecil gives an account of his journey and reception in Ireland. He says: "Coming thither (Cork) some three or four hours before night, we could not get lodging in a long time, neither place to send my cook to provide supper for

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1600. December 15.

to the President of Munster, because I know how well he loues Sir George Carew. I do conceave you will be gladd when you shall receaue my lord's lettres, both because they bring you tydings of her Majesty's gratious pleasure, and because they make you see that you shall not suddainly haue your army abated. But truely, Sir George, I must affirme that it wilbe an infinite good service to the Queen yf there be any moderation had in the Musters; and certainly, as her Majesty hath very sharpely written to my Lord Deputy to doe all things in it that belongeth to a good Gouuernor, so it is exspected that some gross faults should be reformed, even in the Province where you are, for, though Commissaries will be corrupte, and Captains may in some measure be winked at, yet the gross and notorious corruptions haue their asspertion vpon the gouvernor, though not *per se*, yet *per accidens*. I pray you, therefore, in what you may, lett your industry appeare. I am gladd to heare that Florence is come in, with whome (seing he is in nature fearefull) I protest to you I would wish you to deale straynably to make him do all things now which may geue sufficient caution, and receaue conditions secure for the Queen as farr as you think it is in your power to bring him to. There is dayly prophecyes that yong Desmond's sending ouer was meerely idle, that Good it can do none, but harme it may do very much. I do professe vnto you (although I hope it will prooue otherwise) that I do neuer shutt myne Eyes but with feare at my waking to heare some ill newes of him, so as I beseech you when once you shall perceaue that he hath done all he can doe, nurrishe his desire to returne and to come to me for some Lands and Living, by which meanes her Majesty may yet be satisfied that his going ouer hath done her no harme, and then it may be in her Majesty's

Abatement of forces.

Submission of Florence McCarthy.

Cecil's anxiety respecting the young Earl of Desmond.

To be encouraged to return to England,

us, until I was fain (except I would go supperless to bed) to bid myself to the mayor's house, a lawyer, one Meagh (Meade), who, if he haue no better insight in Littleton than in other observances of this place, he may, for her Majesty's service, be well called Lacklaw, for it was much ado that we got anything for money, but that the most of my people lay without lodging, and Captain Price had the hogs for his neighbours." (State Papers, Irish Correspondence.)

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choise whether she will send him abroad again with contentement, or, yf she doubt him, she may lett him lyue here in her Court, by which she shall haue a tye vpon all his followers and dependers. And so could I wish, for my parte, that Florence might be persuaded lykewise to come ouer hether, and sue to the Queen for something, for, in my opinion, he is lyke styll to be a Robyn Hood in Munster. As for your demands of victuaill and threasure you see by my lord's lettres what is answered. But for the point of the Vndertakers, I vnderstand that most of them do avowe that there is nothinge so great quietnes as is reported, nether is there any of them that dare goe thether. I pray you, therefore, by your next lettres write something to make it demonstratyve that they may (without apparent perdition) repayre thether. I haue written to Colonell Wilmott,[a] wherein I do take notice of your great commendation, and do entertayn his profession of respect to me. I haue sent you tobacco as good as I could procure any, and, for Venice glasses, my Lord Cobham would needs be your Purveyor.[b] I thanke you for your Irishe doggs, which I assure you were very faire and

1600. December 15.

and also Florence McCarthy.

Supplies.

Respecting the undertakers.

Colonel Wilmot.

Tobacco and Venice glasses.

Irish dogs.

[a] Sir Charles Wilmot was knighted by the Earl of Essex on 5th August 1599. Appointed Lord President of Connaught 1616, and created Baron Wilmot of Athlone by patent dated 4th January 1620, extinct 1681. It is presumed that the services which won for him the "great commendation" adverted to in the text was his invasion of Kerry. He attacked and seized the castle of Lixnaw, co. Kerry, the stronghold of the Lord Fitz-Maurice (see note [b], p. 18.) So sudden and unexpected was the assault that, notwithstanding the castle was sapped and underset with props of timber with the intention that it should be set on fire and destroyed rather than that it should fall into the hands of the English, there was no time to carry out the design. He surprised also and took the castle of Rathowine, belonging to the Bishop of Kerry, but which was in the hands of the rebels. In each of these castles he placed garrisons. Having rendered other valuable services to the English cause, he was appointed Governor of Kerry.

[b] This passage has reference to a request of Carew's in a letter to Cecil dated 2nd November 1600, that Cecil would send him tobacco and Venice glasses, if he had any to spare. (State Paper Office, Irish Correspondence.) Venice glasses were a fine kind of drinking-glasses manufactured at Venice, at this date very fashionable. Carleton, writing from the Hague to Chamberlain, says: "Such things as I left when I came from Venice are safely arrived here this weeke past by way of Amsterdam. I am only unfortu-

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1600. December 15. Death of Lord North. Foreign affairs.

welcome.[a] Other news of Court we haue none, but that my Lord North[b] is dead, and I beleeue that office wilbe for a while vngeuen. There is lykelyhood styll of the breaking out of a warr between France and Spayne, for the King will come to no capitulation with Savoye, being on horseback since he tooke Monmelian; besydes many French ships are arrested in Spayne, wherevpon the French are feare-full to trade, and the King hath forbidden his subiects to carry vic-tuaills into Spayne. Of the matter of our peace what end there wilbe I know not, but I think we shall fall to a beginning again, for the Spaniard is contented to geue vs Presedence in the Archeduke's ter-

nate in my drincking-glasses, of which there is more than a third part broken in the carriage, and they were very faire."

These costly vessels were frequently broken by the drunken revellers of the day in mere wantonness, as is shown in the following quotation from Webster's "Devil's Law Case," where Julio (Act ii. Sc. 1) is being baited for his riotous living:—

Rom.—(He spends) a hundred ducats a month in breaking Venice glasses.
Ariosto.—He learned that of an English drunkard, and a knight too, as I take it. (Notes and Queries, iv. 18.)

[a] Ireland at an early date was famous for her hawks and her hounds. In Edward the Third's reign we find his falconer sent over to Ireland to purchase six goshawks and six tarsels; and, so highly valued were they on the continent of Europe, that it became necessary to prohibit their exportation. In the time of Henry VIII. Irish hawks had become the choicest present which could be made out of Ireland. Archbishop Allen, to propitiate Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal to Henry VIII., sent him "a leash of gentil hawkes." Irish dogs were just as much valued. Henry VIII. so far relaxed the ordinance against exportation as to grant to the Marquis Desaria and his son, and the longer liver of them, two goshawks and four greyhounds out of Ireland. This continued during the reign of Edward VI. and Mary; but, in the reign of Elizabeth, war breaking out with Spain, the privilege ceased. No more acceptable present could be made than Irish dogs and Irish hawks down to the time of Charles I. or later. In the journal of Sir William Russell, Lord Deputy, appears this entry under date "Sunday 3 August 1595. Mr. Pierce went with divers l'res into Englande, from my lorde and lady. Martin went with hawkes, a caste to Sir Robert Cecill, a caste to the Countesse of Warwick, a caste to the Lord Thomas Hayward, one goshawk to Falke Griuel, a caste of marlians to yonge Mr. Morrishes, and a goshawk to the Countesse of Essex, in all xij." (Lamb. MSS. 612, fo. 28.)

[b] Roger second Baron North, summoned to Parliament from 30th September 1566 to 24th October 1597; ob. 1600. The appointment of Treasurer of the Household here referred to was conferred on Sir William Knollys in 1601.

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1600. December 15.

ritorys, and her Majesty, in respect of that, determineth to send some commissioner to Borbourg or St. Omer. The Lord Deputy is returned to Dublin, from whence he hath certified according to this note inclosed. I can not aduertise you of any resolution for the Pledges, because men are here so apte to beleeue that the Pledges you haue taken are divers of them of little worth. I pray you, therefore, send me by your next a particular description of what quality they are and for whom they lye, wherevpon you shall receaue ansuer. I pray you, Sir, privatly find means to discouer, were it possible, yf yong Desmond can be so vayne as to haue any purpose to marry the Widow Norreys;[a] yf he haue, and that he will confess it, tell him freely that her Majesty will in no sorte allow of it, not in respect of any vnworthynes in her, but because her Majesty looketh at his hands to fetch all light for his actions from her, and not to presume for other respects, whereof she is not ignorant, nor any way alloweth him to bind himself. I pray you, Sir, vse this with secresy and discretion, for I protest to God I am no way acquainted with it, nether shall it ever haue my lyking; nether do you seem to deale in it as yf the Queen knew it, for it is but a thing which I do vnderhand suspect, and Pyne was the first man I ever heard talke of it. But, Sir, you will not beleeue what a strang vnkindnes some of your frends conceyve in your coldnes (as they say) yf not Injury to the Lady Norreis,[b] whose releef depending meerely vpon a company which was granted to her sute, and hoping you would haue suffered to haue remayned at Mallo, is now sayd to be remoued by you, and that in all things you neglect her. You know the Spiritt of some of our frends, especially when they conceaue unkindnes, and therefore I leaue it to your wisedome; onely I desire you to know this, that men are never more in state to desire to be freed from any tongue that conceaues vnkindnes then when they are in forrain imployements; and so, with my very harty commendation, I

Carew to send a description of pledges received.

Young Desmond suspected of a design to marry the Lady Norris. Not to be allowed.

Carew's treatment of her a subject of complaint.

[a] See note [c], p. 6.

[b] See note [b], p. 13.

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1600. December 15. committ you to God his protection. From the Court at Whytehall this 15th of December 1600.

Your very loving and assured frende,

Ro. Cecyll.

Indorsed, Mr Secretary this 15 of December 1600.
Receved the 19 Janr 1600.

All other things are *in ijsdem terminis*.

XVII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 3. Original.]

My L. President,

1601. February 1st. Havinge found noe disposition in this bearer to take any exception to any of your proceedinges, I haue been the more willinge to goe on with him in his desyres, and therefore haue procured him a lettre from my lords, whereby you are commanded to place him as a commissarie, wherein I perceaue he can (if he list) with verie good sufficiency discharge his office. These lettres weare sent by your man Clyfton, of whose safe arrivall I perceaue you are iealous, but you shall now perceaue, by my answeare, that they weare safely delivered to me, and soe haue those allsoe which Patrick Crosby brought, to the which you shall receaue particular answeare verie shortly; only this I say that I doe wishe you to take hold of any disposition which 1076 (Desmond) hathe to come into England, for he may both better prevayle in his sutes, and may be returned backe to you agayne before the sommer be greatly advanced. Secondly, for the opinion I haue of 4004 (Florence McCarthy?). I need not say any more to you then that I haue seen as much as you haue written in your lettre to Patrick Crosbye concerninge him, only I doe exceedingly

In favour of a commissary.

Desmond to be encouraged to return to England.

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wish that by all meanes possible you should fynde the meanes to sease vppon him when you may without any breach of your word; which being all I haue to say at this tyme, I committ you to God.

1601 February 1st. Florence McCarthy to be seized if practicable.

Your afectionate frend to y^e^ last howre,

Ro. Cecyll.

Court, this v^th^ of February 1600.

We haue no newes but that there is a misfortune befallen Mistris Fitton,[a] for she is proved with chyld, and the E. of Pembroke[b] beinge examyned confesseth a ffact, but vtterly renounceth all marriage. I feare they will both dwell in the Tower awhyle, for the Queen hath vowed to send them thether.

When you think fitt you may send over 1076 (Desmond), but retain his patent with yourself. You shall not need to send to know her Ma^ties^ further pleasure. In any wayes lett not Cashell come over. The more expectation which 1076 (Desmond) leaveth behynd him of returne the better construction wilbe made of his departure.

Superscribed, To my honorable and lovinge friend
S^r^ George Carewe, knight, Lo. President of
Munster.
Indorsed, by Sir George Carew, M^r^ Secretarye, y^e^
5 February 1600. Rec. 3 Mar. 1600.

XVIII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 5. Original.]

Sir George Carew,

1601. February 10th. Insurrection of the Earl of Essex.

Because I am not ignorant that greatest Accidents are most subiect to be misreported by such as are ether in passion or ignorance, I haue thought it very fytt, with all convenient speed, to acquaint you

[a] Probably the "mistris Anne Fitton," one of the Queen's maids of honour, to whom William Kemp dedicated his "Nine Daies Wonder," which was reprinted by the Camden Society in 1840. See the Descriptive Catalogue of the Works of the Camden Society, p. 11.

[b] William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, K.G. married Mary eldest daughter of George Earl of Shrewsbury, and coheir to the baronies of Talbot, of Strange, of Badles-

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1601. February 10th. with a most dangerous attempt which hath happened on Sunday last, wherein both her Ma^ties owne person and the vsurpation of this kingdome was openly shott at. By this Proclamation the proceedings of the Erle of Essex will appeare, and therefore I shall onely need say this vnto you, that I thinke, by that tyme my tres shall come vnto you, both he and the Erle of Southampton, with some other of the principals, shall haue lost their heads. I send you the note of most of them that were in open Action with them. Yf the Queen had not putt herself in strenght that very morning, and barricaded Charing Crosse, and other places of the back-partes of Westminster, their resolution was to haue ben at Court by noone; whereof when they vnderstood, they putt themselfs into London, and from thence (hoping to haue ben followed by the Citty) they resolued to come back, but, being repulsed at Ludgate by a stand of Pykes, and the citty holding fast for the Queen, they and some 50 of their Complices rann to the water and putt themselfs into Essex House, which the Erle had furnished with all manner of warlike provisions, and there defended themselfs tyll towards six a'clock in the evening, at which tyme the Lord Admiral sent vnto them yf they would not yealde that he would blowe vp the house, which he might haue done sooner, but that the Lady of Essex and the Lady Rich were within it. Wherevpon (notwithstanding their great braveries) they all yealded to her Ma^ties mercy. Thus haue you a true relation of this dangerous Accident, vnto which I will onely add this, that even when a false allarum was brought to the Queen that the citty was revolted with them she never was more amased then she would haue ben to haue heard of a fray in Fleet Street; and this much for this tyme I thought good to lett you know, tyll further oportunity; committing you to God his protection. From the Court at Whytehall this 10 of February, 1600.

Cool courage of the Queen.

Yr loving and assured frend,

Ro. Cecyll.

mere, and Furnival. He died 1630 without surviving issue, and was succeeded by his brother Philip; see note [a], p. 57.

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1601. February 10th. Commanders of the army.

The Commanders of our little army were:
The Lo. Admirall,[a] Lord Generall.
Erle of Cumberland,[b] Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Thomas,[c] Marshall.
Lord Grey,[d] Generall of the horse.
Lord Burghley,[e] Colonell Generall of the foote; who, with some 10 horse, went into London and proclaimed the Erle of Essex a traytor, with all his adherents, by the mouth of the King of Armes, notwithstanding that my Lord of Essex, with all his complices, were in the city.

Superscribed, Lo. President of Munster.
Indorsed, 10 February 1600. From Sir Robert Cecyll. Receved the last of Febr. 1600.

XIX.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 69.]

SIR GEORGE CAREW,

1601. March (4 ?).

I hope it shall not seeme to you any neglect that you haue heard no more from me these 21 dayes and more, considering how great and important causes haue held not onely her Ma^ty^, but all her Counsell and publick ministers from all other busyness of any other place but here at home, where no small blow was like to be

[a] Charles Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, K.G. 1575; created Earl of Nottingham 1597. Died 1624.

[b] George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, died 1605, s. p. m., and was succeeded by his brother.

[c] Lord Thomas Howard: see note, p. 24.

[d] Thomas Grey, sixteenth Lord Grey of Wilton, attainted 1604, when all his honours became forfeited. Died 1614.

[e] Thomas Cecil, second Lord Burghley, created Earl of Exeter 1605. Died 1622.

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1601. March (4 ?). Insurrection of the Earl of Essex. His trial.

geven at the center (as you may haue heard by my former dispatch) yf God had not in his providence hindred their desseings. You shall therefore further vnderstand that the 19 of Februarij the Erle was arraigned (together with Southampton) in Westminster Hall before 25 peeres, the Lord Threasurer[a] sitting as Lo. Steward. At the barr the Erle laboured to extenuate his fault by denying that euer he meant any harm to her Ma^ties person, and by pretending that he took armes principally to saue himself from my Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Ralegh, who (he gaue out) should haue murdered him in his house on Saterday night. He pretended also an intention he had to haue remoued me, with some others, from the Queen, as one who would sell the kingdom of England to the Infante of Spayne, with such other hyperbolicall Inventions;[b] but, before he went out of the Hall, when he saw himself condemned, and found that Sir John Davys,[c] S^r Ferdinando Gorges,[d] Sir Charles Davers,[e]

Accuses Cecil of trafficing with Spain.

[a] See note [c], p. 33.

[b] The discovery recently made by Mr. Gardiner (History of England 1603—1616, Lond. 1863, 2 vols. 8vo.) shews that this accusation was probably not so groundless as Cecil's words would lead us to suppose. Mr. Gardiner has printed in Appendix III. to his valuable work certain letters written by Sir John Digby to the King in 1613-16, when Digby was ambassador in Spain, shewing most conclusively that, from the accession of James I. to the day of Cecil's death he was in the receipt of a pension from the King of Spain. This pension was at first 4,000 crowns per annum, but in 1604 it was augmented to 6,000 crowns per annum, besides *ayudas de costa* as they were called, or extraordinary gifts for particular services. If, therefore, we find Cecil in the receipt of these bribes during the period to which reference is made, it is not unreasonable, when it is known that the Court of Spain was particularly anxious in regard to the succession to the English Crown, to suppose that they might have commenced somewhat earlier.

[c] Sir John Davis was of Walthamstow, co. Essex, and was knighted by Essex in Ireland on 12th July 1599. He was also, doubtless through the Earl's influence, appointed Surveyor of the Ordnance in the Tower of London. He married Anne relict of William Rosewell of Ford Abbey, co. Devon, and received a grant of the wardship and marriage of Henry his son and heir. Davis possessed Ford Abbey at the time of his attainder in right of his wife. (Special Commissions in Attainder and Inquisitions, Devon and Middlesex.)

[d] Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Governor of Plymouth. He was the second son of Edward Gorges of Wraxhall, co. Somerset. He was deprived of his office of Governor of Plymouth, and Sir Nicholas Parker was appointed in his place; but he was restored in 1603.

[e] Sir Charles Danvers was son of Sir John Danvers, of Dauntsey, co. Wilts, by one of the

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and S^r Christopher Blunt,[a] had confessed all the conferences that were held at Drury howse by his directions for the surprising of the Queen and the Tower, which argued a premeditated treason (which he laboured to haue had it prooue onely a suddain putting himself into strenght and flying into the citty for fear of being committed ouer night when the lords sent for him, which, vpon my fayth to you (to whome I will not lye) was onely to haue reproued him for his vnlawful assemblies, and to haue wished him to leaue the Citty and retire into the Contrey), he then brake out to divers Gentlemen in these words: that his confederatts, who now had accused him, had ben principall Inciters of him, and not he of them, even ever since August, to work his access to the Queen with force. After he had been in the Tower one night, he sent to the Lo. Thomas Howard, being Constable of the Tower, by Mr. Warburton, to entreate him to mooue her Ma^ty to send vnto him the Lord Keeper,[b] Lord Threasurer,[c] Lord Admirall, and me, the Secretary, by name, that he might now discharge his conscience and confess his great obstinacy in denying these thinges at his Arraynement wherewith he had been charged, as also to reconcile himself to his cnemies, and specially to me, whom he had wronged as a Counseller when he pretended at the barr that the cause of his taking armes was the rather

1601. March (4 ?).

Accuses his confederates.

daughters and coheirs of John Neville, Lord Latimer, by the daughter of Henry Earl of Worcester. His grandmother was the Lord Mordaunt's daughter, and his great-grandmother of the family of the Courtenays. He requested that he might suffer death by decapitation (a privilege allowed to noblemen only) which, on account of their lineage, was granted to him and to Sir Christopher Blount. Sir Henry Danvers, his brother, was created Lord Danvers 1603, and Earl of Danby 1626, and elected K.G. 1633. Died 1643, s.p. when all his titles became extinct.

[a] Sir Christopher Blount of Drayton Basset, co. Stafford, was descended from the family of Blount Lord Mountjoy. He was a distinguished soldier, and was knighted by the Lord Willoughby in the Netherlands. He was Master of the Horse to the Earl of Leicester, and after the death of that nobleman he married his widow, Lettice Knollys, the Queen's cousin, who was the widow also of Walter Earl of Essex. He thus became stepfather of Robert the present Earl.

[b] Sir Thomas Egerton, knt. created Baron Ellesmere 1603, and Viscount Brackley 1616. Died 1616.

[c] See note [c], p. 33.

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1601. March (4 ?). to saue the kingdome of England from the Spaniard, to whome it was bought and sould, particularly vrghing it vpon me who had ben a dealer in the peace, adding also that he had heard that I delivered to a Counsellor that the Infante had the best Tytle, to the which when I replyed and pressed that the party that tould it him might be brought forth, M^r^ Controller [a] was named by the poore Erle of Southampton, who, being sent for into the seat of judgement, very like a Gentleman and a Christian, cleansed me that I dyd never speak of that in other sort then as reporting what a strong book [b] was come forth of Doleman, dedicated to the Erle of Essex, which dyd maintayne that Tytle to be the best.[c] Thus do you see, Sir, who (I think) would easily free me from such a barbarous imputation, how great an injury he dyd me, for which God forgeve him! But now to resort to the place I leaft. When it pleased her Ma^ty^ the next day to send us fower vnto him, being Saterday, he dyd, with very great penitency (as euer I saw) confess how sorry he was

[a] Sir William Knollys, created Baron Knollys of Grays 1603, Viscount Wallingford 1616, Earl of Banbury 1626, K.G. Died 1632, s. p. l.

[b] "A Conference about the next Succession to the Crowne of Inglande, divided into two partes. Whereunto is also added a new arbor, or genealogie of the descents of all the Kinges and Princes of Ingland from the Conquest unto this day, whereby each man's pretence is made more plaine. By R.D. Imprinted at N. [Douay ?) 1594." This book gave great offence to the Queen, and was rigorously suppressed. It was made treason to be in possession of a copy. See its history in Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual, under Robert Parsons.

[c] In consequence of the failure of heirs of King Henry VIII. there were several persons who had pretensions to be the successor of Elizabeth, deriving their titles from her grandfather, King Henry VII. There were others whose claims rested upon a more remote origin. Among these the only one whose name was brought prominently forward was the Infanta of Spain. Her title, such as it was, rested, first:—upon her descent from Constance the eldest daughter of William the Conqueror, who married Alain Fergant, Duke of Britany. The three elder sons of William having left no issue, it was assumed that Henry I. had forfeited his right on account of the violence used toward his elder brother Robert, and it was contended that his sister should have entered upon the sovereignty. Secondly:—upon her descent from Ellen eldest daughter of King Henry II. who married Alphonso King of Castile, whose eldest daughter and heir, Blanche, married Louis VIII. King of France, of whom the Infanta was heir-general. It was contended that King John had forfeited his title by the murder of his nephew Prince Arthur, and, having no

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1601. March (4th ?). His confession.

that he made so obstinat denyalls at the barr, desiring that he might haue liberty to sett down in writing his whole Proiect of comming to the court in that sorte, which he hath done in fower sheets of paper, and euen indeed concurring with Sir Charles Davers, S^r^ John Davys, S^r^ Ferdinando Gorges, and Mr. Littleton's[a] confessions, declaring, first, that he sent divers articles to be considered of for that matter, as namely, whether it were not good at the same tyme of comming to Court to possess the Tower to geue reputation to the Action yf the Citty should mislyke it. Next, that Sir Christopher Blunt should take the Court gate, S^r^ John Davys should with some company command the Hall, and goe vp into the great Chamber, where some vnsuspected persons were appointed to haue gotten into the roome aforehande, and to haue seased on the Halbards of the Guarde, which commonly, you know, stand pyled vp against the wall; and S^r^ Charles Davers should haue ben in the presence with some other gentlemen to haue made good that place, whereby my Lo. of Essex with the Erles of Southampton, Rutland,[b] and some other Noblemen should haue gone into the Queene, and then having

child then born to him, his right devolved upon the issue of his sister. The fact that Louis VIII. of France had in 1217 been elected by the Barons to the crown of England, and had received their fealty and homage, was also brought forward as strengthening the Infanta's claim. Thirdly:—it was argued that she was descended from Henry III., whose daughter Beatrix was sister of Edward and Edmond, the founders of the rival houses of York and Lancaster, both which families, it was urged, had been oftentimes attainted and excluded by Act of Parliament. Beatrix married John Duke of Britany, and by him was mother of Arthur II. and so lineally were descended from her the princes of that house until their union with the crown of France; and hence the Infanta, as the eldest daughter and heir of Henry II. of France, was the heir of the house of Britany, and heir general of France. Religious reasons were, however, the strongest motives with those who were disposed to look favourably on her claims.

[a] John Littleton of Frankley, co. Worcester. He was a person of good estate. His ancestor married the heiress of Frankley temp. Hen. III. He was found guilty and attainted, but died immediately afterwards in the Queen's Bench prison. See Chamberlain's Letters temp. Eliz. (Camden Society 1861), pp. 106, 115. On the accession of King James his attainder was removed, and the forfeited lands restored to his son, Sir Thomas Littleton, who represented the county of Worcester in several parliaments. In 1618 he received the honour of knighthood, and was greatly distinguished by his loyalty during the Civil Wars.

[b] Roger Manners, fifth Earl; died 1612.

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1601. March (4th ?). her in their possessions, to haue vsed the shadow of her authority for changing the governement; and so to haue called a parliament and haue condemned all those that should haue ben scandalised to haue misgouerned the state. This is the substance of his confession which he first deliuered verbally to vs, and then proceeded on in his speeches, asking particularly forgeveness of the Lo. Keeper, and desired him to report it to the rest whome he caused to be imprisoned in his house, sorrowing in his harte that they had ben putt in feare of their lyues; then he dyd most passionately desire, in Christian charity, forgeveness at the handes of those persons whome he had particularly called his Enemies; protesting that when he first resolued of this Rebellious Act he saw not what better pretext he could haue then a particular quarrell, and to none so fyt to pretend quarrell as to those whome he had at the barr named his greatest Aduersaries; then being earnestly vrged styll to say what he knew or could reveale, especially of that injurious Imputation to me, he vowed and protested that in his owne conscience he dyd freely acquite me from any such matter, and was ashamed to haue spoken it, hauing no better ground; and professed withall to beare no malice to those others, the Lo. Cobham and S^r^ Walter Ralegh, whome he had named his ennemies, and by whome (but as they had ben ill willers to him) he knew no other then that they were true servants to the Queen and the State. After that he made a uery humble suite to the Queen that he might haue the favour to dye privately in the Tower, which her Ma^ty^ granted, and for which he gaue most humble thankes. The 25. of Februar. he suffered in the Tower, with very great patience and humility, onely, notwithstanding his resolution that he must dye, the conflict between the flesh and the soul dyd appeare onely thus far, that in his prayers he was fayne to be helped, it proceeding out of the weackenes of the flesh at the instant, for otherwise no man living could dye more Christainly than he dyd. This death of his was the more hastened by that bloody practise of Thomas Lea,[a] who, not fower days after the Erles

Seeks forgiveness of those he accused and injured.

Requests that he may die privately.

His execution.

Capt. Lea's conspiracy.

[a] Sir Geffrey Fenton, writing from Ireland in February 1601, states that he has been

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apprehension, dealt with S^r Henry Nevill,[a] sonn-in-law to the Lo. Threasurer, and with S^r Robert Crosse,[b] assuring them that he would deale alsoe with some fower other gentlemen of resolution, who at supper tyme, when the Queen should haue ben in the privy chamber should haue taken her, locked the doores, and as he sillily pretended onely haue pynned her vp there tyll he had forced her to sign a warrant for the Erles deliuery out of the Tower; which vile purpose being discouered by those two gentlemen and avowed to his face, he being that very night watching at the privy chamber dore to discouer how he might the next day haue accesse, he was seased on, and being examined confessed thus much, onely vowing that he would not haue hurt her royal person, whom God bless, except others would haue forced in vppon her to hinder that course which he pretended for their deliuery, but within fower dayes he receaued the due reward of a traytor at Tyborne. The 5th of March S^r Christopher Blunt, S^r Charles Davers, S^r John Davys, S^r Gelly Merick,[c] and Henry Cuff,[d] were all arraigned at Westminster and condemned, they confessing the plott, as is afore sett

1601. March (4th ?).

His confession and execution.

Trial and condemnation of Blount, Davers, Davis, Merick, and Cuff.

certified of the execution of Captain Thomas Lea, for a monstrous treason pretended upon her Majesty's person. Lea had lands at Reban, of which, upon his death, Sir Richard Wingfield, Marshal of the Army, was appointed custodian, and in which he afterwards endeavoured to obtain a further interest to the prejudice of Lea's widow. (Irish Corr.) Captain Lea was a kinsman of Sir Henry Lea, K.G.

[a] Sir Henry Neville, son and heir of Edward Lord Abergavenny. He married Mary, second daughter of Lord Buckhurst. Succeeded his father as second Lord Abergavenny 1622; died 1641.

[b] Sir Robert Cross was a naval captain, who was knighted by Essex in the expedition to Cadiz in 1596.

[c] Sir Gilly Merrick was knighted by Essex in Ireland in 1599, and was steward of his household. He is described as "of London," but had no goods or chattels except one bed which was removed from Essex House for his use in the Tower. (Special Commissions and Inquisitions in Attainder, London.) See further of him in the Archæologia, vol. xxxii. pp. 172—184.

[d] Henry Cuff was the youngest son of Robert Cuff of Donyett, co. Somerset, brother of John Cuff, ancestor of Lord Tyrawley. Henry Cuff was a man of great learning and ability. He was for some years Secretary to Essex, with whom he had much influence, and was one of that unfortunate nobleman's principal inciters in this insane act.

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1601. March (4th ?). Execution of Merick and Cuff.

downe, with many other circumstances to it; absolutely submitting themselfs to her Ma^ties^ mercy, which is like to appeare in some of them, but Merick and Cuff, the one a principal Actor and the other a cheef plotter and inducer of the Erle, were yesterday executed at Tyburne. It remayneth now that I lett you know what is lyke to become of the poore yong Erle of Southampton, who meerely for the loue of the Erle hath ben drawen into this action, who, in respect that most of the conspirascies were at Drury Howse, where he was alwaies cheef, and where S^r^ Charles Davers laye, those that would deale for him (of which number I protest to God I am one as farr as I dare) are much disadvantaged of arguments to saue him; and yet when I consider how penitent he is, and how mercifull the Queen is, and neuer in thought or deed but in this conspiracy he offended, as I can not write in despaire, so I dare not flatter myself with hope. For the rest of the noblemen that are in the Tower, as Rutland, Sandes,[a] Cromwell,[b] Monteagle,[c] excepting Sandes and Cromwell, I presume the other two shall haue mercy, but Sandes and Cromwell are appointed to be tryed to-morrow by the Peeres at Westminster hall. For Sir Charles Davers, nothing hath more alienated the hartes of men to deale for him then this, that aboue all others, tyll he sawe all their owne hands, he was most obstinate in impudent denyalls. Sir Henry Nevile,[d] that was ambassador in

Other noblemen likely to be pardoned.

Obstinacy of Davers.

Sir Henry Neville in displeasure.

[a] William Sandys, third Lord Sandys, summoned to parliament 1572; died 1629 s.p.

[b] Edward third Lord Cromwell, son of Henry second Lord by Mary, eldest daughter of John Poulett, Marquis of Winchester. He was summoned to parliament 1593. He lived in close intimacy with Essex, and accompanied him in all his expeditions. He was imprisoned for a short time only.

[c] William Parker, son and heir apparent of Edward Parker, eleventh Baron Morley, by Elizabeth, only daughter and heir of William Stanley, third Lord Monteagle. He was styled Lord Monteagle in right of his mother, but was not summoned to parliament as such until 1605. On the death of his father in 1618 he succeeded to the barony of Morley.

[d] Sir Henry Neville, ancestor of the Nevilles of Billingbear, co. Berks. He was a man of great ability, and had recently returned from an embassy to France. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Killegrew, co. Cornwall, by Katherine, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, whose other daughter Mildred became the wife of William Lord

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France, is lykewise in displeasure, for hauing ben acquainted with all the circumstances of this plott by Cuff and Davers, and not revealed it; which in a gentleman of his wisdome hath ben no small cryme, nor to me no small greef, hauing married myne owne cosen Germaine. 1601. March (4th ?).

Three or fower dayes since here arryued the Erle of Marr,[a] with the Lord of Kynloss,[b] Ambassadors from the King of Scottland; their arrands are generally holden to be, to deale plainly and syncerely with the Queen about the forraine imployements wherewith the King hath ben scandalised abroad: lykewise about S^r^ William Euers[c] and other prisoners here. He hath not yet had audience, because his carriadges are not yet arriued. Ambassadors from Scotland.

Your afectionate fr. to command,

Ro. Cecyll.

Endorsed, Martij 1600.
From M^r^ Secretarie, Received by Patrick Crosbie at Lymerick 16 Aprilus 1601.

XX.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 73. Original]

Sir,

I know not what is lefte vnansweared of the publicke in her Ma^ties^ letter and the lettres of the counsell, And yet methinkes noe dispatches can passe from hence wherein some occasion may not be 1601. April 30th.

Burghley, and mother of Sir Robert Cecil. Thus Lady Neville was Cecil's cousin germain. Sir Henry Neville was sentenced to pay a heavy fine, which was mitigated to 5,000*l.* and he was some time imprisoned in the Tower.

[a] John Erskine, sixth Earl, died 1634.

[b] Edward Bruce of Kinloss, appointed a Lord of Session in 1597. Chamberlain, writing to Carleton, speaks of him as one "whom they call Lord or Abbot of Kinloss." On his return he was created a peer of Scotland, as Baron Bruce of Kinloss, February 1602. Having accompanied King James to England, he was sworn of the privy council, and made Master of the Rolls for life. Died 14 Jan. 1611. He was ancestor of the Earl of Elgin.

[c] Sir William Eure was brother of Ralph third Lord Eure.

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1601. April 30th.

taken for vs to discourse each to other the contynuance of our affections, or the least to speake by our letters, which is now the best contentment where the greatest is taken away by our separation.

Earl of Thomond used by the Queen with great grace.

I haue greatly desyred to make my Lord of Thomond know how well you haue vsed him, and accordingly her Matie hath verie graciously proceeded, for she hath vsed him with verie great grace, and hath made him see how much she vallewes you; but for the gentleman I must speake freely to you. Noe man can tell what he

His strange conduct.

would haue, for I protest vnto you till this verie day I could neuer get other answeare of him then this: when I would say vnto him, What is there wherein your Lordshipe would haue my freindshippe? he will still replye, "Nay, Sir, euen in what please you I am yours to dispose;" with such like woordes. An other tyme he would come vnto me and desyre me to lett him know what he should doe. I did still answeare him that you would fayne haue him backe, and that you did tell me what greate vse the Queen should haue of him in Munster; to which then he would straight reply, that he hath nothing to doe there, but he would desyre to be directed by me; and soe would still hyde himself in such sort as, before God, it did much trouble me. This morninge onely he came vnto me and gaue me an information of the state of Connaght and the plantinge of Ballishannon, which he sayd he would doe if he might haue 4,000 foote, and I know not what. Assoone as I heare

Desires to be Governor of Connaught.

this, I know the consequence was to be Governour, wherein, because you can well gesse how vnlikely a thinge it is that the Queen would yield therevnto, in respect that other noblemen in Ireland would affect the like, though for his fayth and valour I know noe subiect in that realme to goe before him, I need not vse many wordes concerninge the same; only this I will add, that we doe hear only leaue the proiects of the warr to the Lord Deputy, whoe seemeth to conceaue that Ballishannon shalbe planted ether by himself or els by Sir Henry Dockwra, whoe now pretendeth that if his nombers be made vpp to their ould list of 3,000, from the which they are

Planting of Ballyshannon.

lately decayed, he will plant Ballishannon by land from the Liffer,

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and send some such shippinge as attendes Loughfoyle about with their victualles. Consider you, therefore, now whether we shall here change all this course and take hould of my Lord of Thomond's promise, with which the Deputy and state is now (*sic*) way acquaynted, whoe if he mislike it will cast it away with the dash of a pen, and if he doe yeeld to it and it succeed will leaue the interpretation to the successe. To conclude, Sir, I never founde it yet but the Deputyes would ether follow their owne proiectes, or mislike other, and for ought that I can see we are all the chyldren of Adam. In this matter of Lymericke,[a] though the lords haue written vnto you as they doe, and though in noe sort they meane to detract from your authority, yet they haue here a better oratour then my Lord of Thomond is. Nevertheles, we haue noe way seemed to yeild, but we doe wish that, because the fyne is great, that if they will submitt themselfes to pay what you shall moderate, that of your owne free accord you deliuer the maior vppon bondes, and dispense with some part of the fyne, as you know is done here, both in starchamber and otherwise. I am verie gladd that the Erle of Desmond is here; he is we [well?] vsed and shall haue the same sommes which growes by the Lendinges, but not by the apparrell, at the least he shall not know soe much, because he is everie day lookinge for more than his allowance. Other newes here are none, but that the Queen is well and goinge to Greenwich. And soe for this tyme I committ you to God. From the Court at Whytehall this 30 of Aprill 1601.

1601. April 30th.

Deputies will follow their own course.

The Mayor of Limerick.

The Earl of Desmond in England.

Your louing frend without possibility of change,

RO. CECYLL.

Addressed, To my honourable and verie Lovinge freind S[r] George Carew, Knight, Lo. President of Munster.

Indorsed, M[r] Secretarye, the 30 Aprill 1601. Receved 14 of Maye.

[a] Geoffry Galway, Mayor of Limerick, about Dec. 1600 had imprisoned a soldier for petty larceny, and, notwithstanding repeated orders from the President, who was then

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XXI.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 75. Original.]

1601. June 26th.

In behalf of Sir Charles Manners.

SIR,

Whereas I am informed that S^r^ Charles Mannors[a] havinge marryed the wyddow of Cap^en^ Francys Wenman[b] deceased, whoe in his life tyme purchased, in the province of Munster, a castle and certayne landes of good vallue thereto belonginge, of one Shynan an Irishman, and was at great charges in furnishinge and stockinge the same; of all which he was since spoyled by the Rebells there, to the great decay and impoverishinge of his estate. Forasmuch as at this tyme S^r^ Charles is determyned to be a sutor for the recovery of the sayd landes and goodes in the right of his wife, belonginge to her as the sole executrix to her late husband Cap^en^ Wenman, I haue thought good to recommend him unto you, and to oesyre you to afford him herein what lawfull favour you may, as well for my wife's sake[c] (whoe is gone), to whom he was a kynsman, and you so to, and a freind, as for my owne; wherein yf I shall perceaue that this recommendacion hath stood him in steed, I will take it verie thankfully at your handes and will acknowledge it whensoever you

ready to march against the rebels, refused to liberate or try him. The President removed the mayor from his office, and made him pay a fine of 400*l.* which was expended in the repair of the castle of Limerick. (Cox, i. 434.)

[a] Sir Charles Manners was the only son of Sir Thomas Manners, fourth son of Thomas Earl of Rutland, by Theodosia, daughter of Sir John Newton, of Barrs Court. Sir Charles was knighted by Essex in Ireland, 5th August, 1599.

[b] Captain Francis Wenman was younger brother of Richard Viscount Wenman. He married Frances, daughter of William Goodere of Polesworth, co. Warwick, who, on the day of the date of this letter, married Sir Charles Manners.

[c] Lady Cecil was Elizabeth, daughter of William Brooke, Lord Cobham, by Frances, another daughter of Sir John Newton: consequently she was cousin-german to Sir Charles Manners. She died 1591. The relationship between Carew and the Brookes is not traced.

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shall haue occasion to vse me. And so for this tyme I committ you to God. From the Court at Greenwich, this 26 of June 1601. 1601. June 26th.

Your verie lovinge and assured freind,

RO. CECYLL.

Superscribed, To my honorable and verie
Lovinge freind, Sir George Carew,
Knight, Lo. President of Munster.
Indorsed, 26 Junij 1601.
From Sr Robert Cecyll.

XXII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 77. Original.]

SIR GEORGE,

The dispatche which Patricke Crosbie brought hath not a little raysed your reputacyon, for I know not how by force or counsell more could haue ben performed, which are her Majesty's owne wordes. Where you haue determyned to send hym over alyue, her Majesty alloweth very well of your iudgement, but especyally in that you ingaged the provynce in his condemnacyon before.[a] Synce I haue receaved a lettre from you of your apprehendinge of Florence, in whose case I pray you spare not sending over of any proofes you can, for, although her Majesty is not like to proceede vygorously, yet she accoumpts it an excellent pledge to haue him safely sent hither. For the other poynts which James M'Thomas offreth, I need wryte no cyrcumstances but this shortly, that her Majesty will not yet give you warrant to assure him lyefe whom you haue in

1601. June 29th. Capture of James Fitz-Thomas.

Apprehension of Florence M'Carthy.

[a] The object of this was to secure his lands. If he had died before his arraignment his lands could have been forfeited by an Act of Parliament only, and his brother John would naturally have succeeded to the title of Earl of Desmond, and to the potent influence which that title possessed.

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1601. June 29th.

your kepinge, thoughe I have acquainted her with the condycons, but I am not desperate (with a little tyme) to induce her Majesty to the same, especyally vppon so specable condycons, and therefore kepe it on ffoote as well as you can.[a] For the matter of the pardon, it shall be sent vnto you, and for the treasure, I doupt not but by this tyme you haue receaued it. For the victuall I need say nothing, for I doupt not but by this tyme Woodd[b] is with you. I haue sent you herewithall a lettre to the Whitknight from my lords, and her Majesty hath taken notyce of his sonne that is here with my Lord of Thomond, and hath lett him kisse her handes with very gracious vsage. For the iiij[c] hundred poundes which you haue payd to the Whitknight, there wilbe order given the threasurer that there shalbe so muche sent over for you. I would to God 1206 (Thomond) were once from hence, for no man that lyues can tell what he would haue, but his wholle dryft was to be governor of

General pardon to be sent.

Supplies.

The White Knight,

his reward.

Thomond desires to be Governor of

[a] We have seen (note [a], p. 34) that John FitzThomas, the Lord of Lixnaw, and Piers Lacy, had taken refuge in Ulster. The Sugane Earl begged for his life, urging that O'Neill would send up, together with these gentlemen, a very strong force, and that when these had obtained a footing in Munster the most part of the country would join with them; that, to prevent this, the saving of his life would be more beneficial for her Majesty than his death, and he promised to reclaim his brother, the Lord of Lixnaw, and Piers Lacy, if her Majesty would be gracious unto them, or else he would prosecute them to the utmost of his power. He urged, moreover, that by the saving of his life her Majesty would win the hearts of the people of Munster in general, and that he would continue his own service and alliance in dutiful sort all the days of his life. He also represented that there were three others of his sept and race alive,—the one in England, his uncle Garrett's son (the young Earl), his brother John in Ulster, and his cousin Maurice FitzJohn in Spain, either of whom might be brought into credit and restored to the house. (Pacata Hibernia.) Carew, writing to Cecil on the 18th June 1601, says, "James M'Thomas, the pretended Earl of Desmond, to redeem his own life, promises by his brother John, and Piers Lacy, to get for the writer, Tyrone either alive or dead." He is promised for 100*l.* to get Bishop Cragh, and also the Knight of the Valley. (State Paper Office, Irish Corr.) The Queen's anger with this arch-traitor, as he was called, was doubtless exceedingly great, but policy prevailed. He was not brought to execution, but died a prisoner in the Tower.

[b] John Wood, who held the office of Victualler in Ireland, and who, being on a visit to England, was about to return.

[c] This was the White Knight's reward for the betrayal of the "Sugane Earl."

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1601. June 29th. Connaught. Not to be thought of.

Connaught, which is in vayne to thinke of, seing the Deputy must have enabled the Governor and seconded hym. So, as you knowe to, yf for any pryvat respect to the Earle of Clanrikard [a] that now is, he should not haue favoured the disposing of him thither, it had ben the greatest vanytie in the world to have exspected ought but his depresion, and a scorn to vs that had given the counsell, wherin you know that it is one of my old maxims, consydderinge howe all counsells are iudged by successe, never to seek to winne any such thinge at her Majesty's handes, but rather to leaue alwayes the accyons of that Kingdom and counsells to the spyrit of them that command it. And for the matter of Redmond Burck I fynd the same doupt, for here is nowe no other sounde but that so you put hym in you dryue Dunkellyn out.[b] Nowe, Sir, for my part, although in my owne opynion he was well gayned, and that the matter might be in a forme of Justice accommodated, and that I am confydent yf he dyd come in vppon some good bloodd that his demandes would be agreed, yet because I see howe easy a matter it is to inforce a negatyue, and because I would, in no sort, haue your word taynted,

Redmond Burke.

[a] Richard Burke succeeded as fourth Earl on the death of his father, 20th May 1601. He was knighted in 1584, and made governor of Connaught by the Earl of Essex in 1599, which was afterwards confirmed. For his faithful services to the Crown he was, in 1624, created Baron of Somerhill (a manor of his in Kent) and Viscount Tunbridge, in the English peerage. To these titles were afterwards added (1628) those of Baron of Imany, Viscount Galway, and Earl of St. Alban's. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Francis Walsingham, and widow successively of Sir Philip Sidney, and Robert Earl of Essex, and died 1635, aged 70.

[b] Redmond Burke, son of John, son of Richard second Earl of Clanrickard, by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Donough O'Brien, second Earl of Thomond, which John was created Baron of Leitrim. On the death of his father, Redmond was by the Irish styled Baron of Leitrim; but his uncle, Ulicke third Earl of Clanrickard, said he was a bastard, and he claimed, and his son eventually obtained, the Barony of Leitrim. Redmond was a famous Captain among the rebels in Ulster, and was much esteemed by them for his wit and valour. It appears from the text, that at this date there was a prospect of his submission to the Qneen, and that one of the chief obstacles to his being received was the fear of offending the Lord Dunkellyn—as Richard Burke, who had just succeeded to the Earldom of Clanrickard (see note [a],) is here called. Redmond, in 1602, fled to Spain, where he was living a fugitive in 1617.

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1601. June 29th.

I dare not assume vppon me to advyse you for to conclude with him. Concerninge the reports of Spayne, I cannot deny but there

Report of Spanish invasion.

is a preparacion at Lysbone, and of such a body of an army as may well proporcion such an Actyon, for they are some 5000 men, with some 30 or 40 sayle of small shippes merely to serve to transport, all which consyderacions being added to the cyrcumstances wee receaue from all partes of Ireland, I cannot deny but make great presumcyons that you shall haue them in Ireland, to which I must styll add

Will probably land in Munster.

this opynion, that Munster wilbe the place and no other; for, besydes the commodytie which that Province giueth (being full of good Townes) for an army to live in, it doth wholly draw her Majesty's forces from the northe partes and from the rest of the body of the Kingedom, for no man doupts but all must repayre towards them, where, contrarywyse, if they should land in the northe, in my vnderstandinge it could proove nothing but a conclusyon of the warre, thoughe it would make a new modell of thinges in that kingedom. You shall nowe therefore vnderstand that I am credybly aduertysed that Jaques contynually holdeth correspondency with Captain Bostocke, who (as my informer tells me) resydeth styll in Youghall. The carryer between them is a Frenchman, who, they say, doth

Conspiracy of Jacques de Franceschi and Captain Bostocke.

ordynarily passe vp and downe. Because you do best vnderstand the quallity of the man, and can compare the cyrcumstances of his accions with this Informacion, I must referre much to your Judgement herein, being for my owne opynion thus persuaded that yf you could suddenly cause his papers to be seysed and serched, and then his person to be stayed and well examyned, there will somethinge be founde in his Papers, or something pycked out by your examinacion, which may laye open the matter; all which yf it might be done upon some other grounde, it were the better, though rather then not to be don let it be *quacunq. via.*[a] I pray you call your Judge-

[a] Jacques de Franceschi, who was said to be the main contriver of the design for poisoning the Queen which brought Annias and Cullen first into trouble. (See note [a], p. 49.) He had been an officer in the army in Ireland. What Captain Bostock and he were suspected of at this time is not apparent. Carew carried out Cecil's instructions. Writing

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1601. June 29th.

Papers to be seized and examined. An intelligencer to be sent to Spain. His qualifications.

mont to you, and see whether you could possibly fynd some suffyceant person in that provynce that would remayne in Spayne, ether at Lysbone or the Groyne, for an Intelligencer. The natyon you know is wyse, less suspected there then any, and may haue many pretences. Besydes you know he may more often wryte into Ireland then into England. He must be able to iudge when a fleet is gathering to what accyon it tendeth, wherin it is very easy for all men allmost of common sence not to be deceaued, and in my owne opynion I think a man may conclude that whensoever there is a rendezvous at Lysbone, or to the northwardes, it cannot be but for some action of hostility, only for the trade of the East Indyes some fewe carrackes and wafters must every year be provyded. To conclude, I do much desyre you to vse your best meanes therein for the choyce of some person able and willing, and I do pryncypally wysh that he fashyon his aboad in the northern partes, because if I do but knowe *Res gestas* there, I shall easely make vse of the same. I will give him three or iiij^{xx} crownes before hand for an *ajudo de costa*, and I will allowe him three or iiij^{c} crownes a year, as you shall direct it, if you find parts in him answerable.

[Holograph.]

Since the writing of this lettre I have spoken with Wood, whose

to the latter on 12th September, he says: "Touching Captain Bostocke, I have done all that I may to discover the papers you wrote of, and have searched his coffers, but can find nothing. The pretext I made was for certain Commissions granted unto him and others about the title of O'Mahon's lands, whereof he had a portion, which for her Majesty's special service were required."—And the Lord Deputy and Council, writing to the Privy Council, on 7th Nov. say: "I the President do acknowledge the receipt of such intelligence concerning Captain Bostock as it pleaseth your Lordships to remember, and since that time have kept very good spial upon him, yet cannot find any thing that gives me cause to suspect him, and therefore we all think it fitter, seeing his company is returned hither among other, to make use of his service here (Camp before Kinsale), for which we find him very fit, until there may be some apt occasion to dispose of him elsewhere without giving him discontent, unless we had more particular and certain ground to charge him with, which we must receive from thence (England), yet in the mean time he shall be so narrowly looked unto as if he have the will (which we doubt not) he shall not have means to hurt much." (State Papers, Irish Corr.)

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1601. June 29th. Respecting victuals.

purpose to go into Munster is deferred. I haue told him of your good respect towards him in writing to me of his victuail onely, and not to others. He still insisteth that ether none is badd, or if it be that it is neuer vttered. He desires to haue a note of the severall natures, and yet pretends that it may be Apsley's malice.[a]

Lord Deputy authorised to pass pardons.

I send you once againe a draft of the Queen's lettre by which an authority is given the Lord Deputy to pass Pardons. I protest to you I cannot conceiue what it is that otherwise should be don, except you would haue a Pardon here passed which shold not come by the Lord Deputy, and then you know he would take it an infinite disgrace. Let me see by the next how you, or that counsaile, will haue it carried; but, in the meane time, the L. Deputy hath this Warrant, and it seemes to me that some few persons, deputed for all the rest of the poor, may repaire to him.

Her Majesty dyd reade youre lettre to her counsaile, which they dyd comend as much as she.

Because you may see how the L. Deputy disposeth him self, I send you an abstract of a lettre written to Mr. Thresurer from the Camp.

Estrangement of friends.

Lastly, Sir, If I dyd not know that you do measure me by your owne hart towardes me, which is likewise the rule of mine towardes all others, it might be a doubtfulness in me that the mutinys of those whom I do loue and will (howsoever they do me) might

[a] Carew, writing to the Privy Council on 1st May 1601, takes notice of their Instructions dated 17th Dec. 1600, that Allen Apsley is nominated Deputy to the Victualler, John Woodes. He seems to have made some complaint of the proceedings of his principal. Apsley was knighted, and in 1612, was granted, in conjunction with Sir Marmaduke Darrell, the office of Surveyor General of Victuals for the King's Navy and Marine Forces, and in 1617 he was granted, upon a composition with Sir George More, the appointment of Lieutenant of the Tower. He was thrice married, firstly to a daughter of ——— Hawkes, co. Stafford; secondly, to Anne, daughter and coheir of Sir Peter Carew the younger, and widow of William Wilsford (see note [a], p. 35), by whom he had a son Peter, who became also the heir of Sir George Carew, to whom these letters were addressed (Will Prerog. Court, Ridley 36); and thirdly to Lucy, youngest daughter of Sir John St. John, of Liddiard Tregoze.

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create in you some belief that I were vngratefull towardes them. But, Sir, for the better man the second wholly sweys him, and to which passions he is subiect who is subiect to his Lady, I leaue to your Judgment and Experience;[a] only this I pray you, retayn Fayth and Confidence for me, and when you and I speake, you shall see my studies haue ben, and are, to make you the compagnion of my lyfe in honour and comfort. I meane, by God's grace, in the winter to procure your Retourn, but as if it were for a month, to acquaint her Majesty secretly, and in dead to deliver your opinion how we should replant all those things, for so is it necessary. It can not be don before, and may not be talked of vntill the Instant, neyther here

1601. June 29th.

Carew's return in the winter intended.

[a] This and some other passages in these letters are very difficult of explanation. They will probably be understood by those who are more intimately acquainted with the secret workings of Elizabeth's court, during the last ten years of her reign, than is the Editor. Even during the life of Lord Burghley, much jealousy was manifested of the ability and rising fortunes of the Earl of Essex. The Queen used him as a sort of Foreign Secretary; all foreign intelligence was in his hands. A faction was formed against him by the Cecils, supported by the Howards, Cobham, Ralegh, Carew, and others, and every opportunity was seized to disparage him with the Queen. Essex had also his adherents, among the more conspicuous of whom were Rutland, Southampton, Mountjoy, Cromwell, and Sandys. Upon the death of Lord Burghley, when the principal Secretaryship became vacant, Essex used his influence to obtain the appointment of Sir Thomas Bodley to the office, but on his return from the expedition to Cadiz he was greatly mortified to find that Sir Robert Cecil, who had long been intriguing for it, had received the appointment. This was followed by other promotions in the same faction, which caused Essex great discontent, more particularly that of Lord Charles Howard to be Earl of Nottingham and Lord High Admiral, which gave him precedence of the Earl. Essex, open, rash, and impetuous, was no match for this combination, and soon fatally fell into their toils.

Essex had warmly supported the claims of James of Scotland to the succession, and was known to stand very high in the favour of that monarch. This was another cause of jealousy to Cecil, and no sooner was the unfortunate Earl removed from his path, than he himself, who was understood to have been previously in favour of the Infanta's claims, opened secret negociations with the Scotish King. This caused a division in the camp, or "the pack broke," as Meg Ratlyff prophesied (see page 96); Cobham and Ralegh were in favour of the Lady Arabella, whilst Northumberland was believed still to adhere to the Spanish interest. They were, however, none of them, a match for the "Old Fox," as Cecil is styled by Bacon. The Editor doubts not that the defection of Cobham and Ralegh is here alluded to.

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1601. June 29th. nor there; but then will we settle your Estate, I doubt not, for thinges don for absent men come not so easily. And thus I end.

Yours,

Ro. Cecyll.

Court appointments. This day hath inflamed their mynds, for now Shrewsbury[a] and Worcester[b] are sworn Counsaillors, and Sir John Stanhope[c] Vice-Chamberlaine, but the Presydentship will fall vpon Souch.[d]

The Parliament will beginn at Alholantide, and till then I think there wilbe no new creations. Creditt me, he[e] shall neuer haue my consent to be a Counsaillor without he surrender to you the captainship of the gard, to which we will easily add some matter of profitt, that we may once liue together some merry dayes. From Court this St. Peter's day.

Indorsed by Carew, S^r G. C.
from M^r. Secretarye, about
June 1601.

XXIII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 86. Holograph.]

Sir,

1601. July 20th. What you have heard of the matter whereof the Lord Thomas wrot is most trew, and yet my patience is so invincible as it is not

[a] Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl, K. G., died 1616.

[b] Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of his name, K. G., died 1628.

[c] Sir John Stanhope of Harrington, co. Northampton, second son of Sir Michael Stanhope. Created Lord Stanhope of Harrington 1603, which dignity expired with his son 1675.

[d] Edward Zouche, twelfth Baron Zouche of Haryngworth, died 1625, when the Barony fell into abeyance, which was terminated in 1815 in favour of Sir Cecil Bisshopp.

[e] Sir Walter Ralegh. He was never admitted to the Council.

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1601. July 20th.

to be broken, for though I heare yet I do not take notice, but we are all as sociable as ever; only this I tell you trewly, that I am resolved what they would be, if they were that they would be. But satisfy yourself that no flesh nor bludd shall beare more then I will do, rather then to make our selfs *Fabula Vulgi*.[a]

Estrangement of friends.

Our generall dispatches answers for the present as much as we can write, and thogh I know you can teach them Lessons that would teach you, yet even your nearest, that was my dearest, much condemned your Resolution to fortify Cork, seeing it must be lost, rather expecting that you would spoyle all meanes which you can not keep, and rather rase fortyfications when you must leave them, amongst the which Shendon Castle, and such like, are spoken off. Me thinks it were very good the Fort of Doncannon had a good ward and were well looked vnto, for in my opinion Waterford wilbe the place, lying vpon the confines of Leinster, having two such Rivers and a Towne so afected.

The fortification of Cork disapproved.

I do wish certainly to make sure of Darby M'Owen,[b] and Cormack M'Dermod,[c] and Florence his brother;[d] those being had certainly, few others are to be dowbted, especially seing Florence and M'Thomas are taken, whom we expect.

Derby M'Owen. Cormac M'Carthy and Dermot M'Carthy suspected, and to be made sure of.

[a] See note [a], p. 85.

[b] Dermot M'Owen M'Carthy, called also M'Donough. He seems to have been a straightforward and honourable man. Upon his first coming in upon protection, he protested and swore he would remain a good subject; "but," said the President, "what if the Spaniards invade Ireland? What would you do then?" "Your Lordship puts me," he said, "a hard question; for if that should happen, let not then your Lordship trust me, nor the Lords Barry and Roche, nor any other you best conceit of, for if you do, you will be deceived." (Pacata Hibernia), and so it fell out in many instances.

[c] Cormack MacCarthy, son of Dermot Lord of Muskerry, by Helen Fitzgerald, dau. of Maurice A totan, brother of James fifteenth Earl of Desmond; died 1616. He was never personally in actual rebellion, but doubtless dissembled with both parties. Teig M'Cormack, son of Sir Cormack M'Teig M'Carthy, being himself in trouble, accused Cormack M'Dermot of treasonable practices. He was seized by subtilty and committed a close prisoner, being heavily ironed and closely watched. Nevertheless he effected his escape, but soon again made his submission.

[d] Dermot Moil M'Carthy. He married Helena, daughter of Donough of Glanflish, and was slain at Dunboy.

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1601. August 12th. Supplies.

. To conclude, Sir, If Spaniards come, we will do our best to assist you; if not, these 2000 will inable you further; and there in this is all I say, that many here can be content to say that you haue with infinite Wisdom and Industry appraised things, but that if you had with the sword followed it, all those that now liue with minds hollow had been slaved and died, and so the Prince secured. I protest, if I were as you, when my 2000 were come I would speake bygg, and make things so sure as at winter I may be confident to pleade for your Retourn, thogh with a purpose not to abandon the charg, for we will hold that till we see you satisfied, and then, Georg, know that my hart knowes no man liuing dearer than is S[r] Geo. Caro to

Carew's return.

Expressions of regard.

Your afectionate and fast frend,

RO. CECYLL.

New Privy Councillors.

We haue no more Counsilors made but Shrewsbury, Worcester, and Stanhope.

Think whyther we be not active that send 3000 to Ostend, and 2000 to you. The Archduke will be faine to rise with scorn, for Veare is in Ostend with 5000 English, 3000 Dutch.

Letters burnt.

I burn all your particular lettres.

Indorsed, by Carew, July 1601. From S[r] Robert Cecyll. Receaved the 3rd of August. The packet in which this letter came was posted the 20th of Julye, 1601.

XXIV.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 94. Holograph.]

1601. August 12th.

MY DEAR GEORG,

Landing of the Spaniards.

Now will I omitt all the pety particulars of many things, because the great storme which I presume is fallen vpon Monster

[b] Sir Francis Vere, third son of John fifteenth Earl of Oxford.

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1601. August 12th. Cecil's anxiety for Carew.

drownes all my pety cares, and woundes my soule for care of you, of whom I know not what to expect but as of a lost child, for thogh I know you are not so madd as to runn to the enemy's mouths with a dosen persons in comparison, yet I am desperately afrayd that the Provincials shold betray you, even those I meane that must, or will, seem to be principally about you. We wonder we haue not heard of Desmond and Florence.

My letter inclosed containes the Nues. This doth only let you know that If they be not landed, they will not this yeare. If they be, then I do hope God will bless you. For the rest, I liue and am well in health, but left to seek new Freends,[a] which is as much as to seek new fortunes; only you I hoped for, of which now for a long time I dispaire, and so I end.

Yours,

RO. CECYLL.

His desire that Carew may visit England.

I cold wish if the Lord Deputy once come to dwell in Monster, as I think he will do, and that he do but seek to lodg by them, as I think he must do for any great hast they will make presently into the hart of the kingdom, that you cold, without toutch to your reputation, be sent ouer, but not at the first, to informe or advise with us by our direction of such things as are considerable, that we might once conferr in this new world, thogh back I know you must go.

Indorsed by Carew, From Mr Secretary, enclosed in a packett, date the 12th of August, 1601. Receved the 4th Sept. follow:

[a] See note [a], p. 85.

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XXV.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 96. Holograph.]

1601. August 13th.

I wrote vnto you in my last, dated yesterday, of a wish I had that 2049 (Carew) might, without toutch to his reputation, be sent over by 2047 (Mountjoy), for otherwise I wold not haue it dreamt on; only this I think, when my Lord Deputy shall be there, and with an army, after once the monthe of October come the enemy will ly quiet from any great Marching, so as, althogh 2049 (Carow) I know wold not come ouer till time haue ben spent after the Spanish discent, yet, afterward, seeing a more principall Comander is there in the Province, it may stand very well that a principall Counsailor in that Kingdom be imploied to the Queen. Now, Syr, if you can think this sutable with the humour of 2049 (Carew), I can so contrive it as that 2047 (Mountjoy) shall do it of himself, for to tell you trew I think he hath more confidence in 2030 (Cecil) now then any liuing concerning his particular Fortune, and how far his vnworthy frends haue wownded him here, and what Impression it hath taken, what is like to be his domestick Fortune (for he hath *animum revertendi*); and in these thinges as he hath alredy desired to be clearly and nobly delt with by 2030 (Cecil), so will he send him woord that of his truste no minister can or shalbe so confident an instrument as 2049 (Carew), who haue euer laboured theyr vnity, to which I do confess 2030 (Cecil) was euer Inclined;[a] and I belieue

Cecil's desire for Carew's return to England.

His influence with Mountjoy.

[a] There seem to be two or three dark allusions in this passage. That to his "vnworthy frends" refers to the accusation of Essex (in his confession) that Mountjoy was privy to his designs and was prepared to assist him. It is evident from the admission of Fynes Morison, Mountjoy's Secretary, that he was very uneasy at his position, and contemplated flying to the continent. There can be no doubt that the whole of Essex's design, so far as he had any settled purpose, was known to the government from the beginning; but whether or not too many eminent persons were implicated in it to be dealt with severely, or whether Mountjoy's services in Ireland were too valuable to be dispensed with, it is

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1601. August 13th.

when you see him you shall find how he will acknowledg his trew kindnes, which he shall by you (and so he will write to him) know ever *vsque ad atomum*. Besydes, the speach here of 2049 (Carew), and the trust the Queen hath in him, will be a satisfaction of his owne proceedings, and may draw vs on to do things most for the good of that Kingdom in which his honour is included; so as, to conclude, I know when 2030 (Cecil) hath written to him he wilbe the gladdest man both for Publick respect and for his owne privat satisfaction, in things which he shall know by 2049 (Carew), to shape onely from 2030 (Cecil) out such Imployment for 2049 (Carew) as his hart shall wish, so farr as it shalbe in his power, to whom 2030 (Cecil) hathe layd downe this position, that where a great many Idle fellowes in Ireland, with whom he must hold correspondence, do valew them selfs as if he dyd study their good, that absolutely 2030 (Cecil) frees him from all men in Ireland, but for being 2049 (Carew) his noble and worthy freend.

Now, Syr, if you will know for what 2030 (Cecil) desires 2049 (Carew) here for, first he wold see him, next he wold take oportunity to gett him somewhat. Lastly, he wold communicate, confer, and advise how to regulate all afections and courses as may be best for her Majesty's service, and not altogether with Neglect to themselfs; this being all which now I haue to say, I end.

His reasons for wishing Carew's presence.

Yours,

Ro. Cecyll.

From Court at Windsor, this 13th of Aug. being Thursday.

Indorsed by Carew, From M^r^ Secretarye,
dated the 13th of Aug. 1601.
Receaved the 4th of Sept. followinge.

evident the Queen considered it prudent to dissemble her knowledge of his share in the transaction. Cecil, however, did not fail to turn it to account.

The allusion to his "domestic fortune," refers to his disgraceful connection with Lady Rich; and the third, as to the instrumentality of Carew in promoting unity between Mountjoy and Cecil, refers to the factional differences already spoken of. (see note [a], p. 85).

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XXVI.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 100. Original.]

1601. September 5th.

SIR,

I know not what to wryte which some of my packetts that haue lyen at the seasyde (and I hope by this tyme are with you) do not contayne, only nowe I must touche what hath hapned synce my last of our newes of Spayne, and the examinacyon of Desmonde and Florence. For Desmonde, I fynd hym more dyscreet then I haue hard of hym, and for Florence the same which I euer exspected, which is a malycious vayne ffoole. When he came to be examyned he pryncipally and absolutely denyed that he had don any thing in the begynning, but that which he had warrant to doe from the Commissioners in Munster tyll he had recouered his contrye; and that for the combynacyon with Spanyards it should neuer be proued, especially that particular concerning his writing to the Pope[a] when Tyrone was in Munster, or at any tyme. In which poynt James M'Thomas being confronted with him dyd not directly mayntayne it that he had seen his hande, but that he was privy to their consultacyon, and that O'Kegan, when he came for his hand, told him Florence should ioyne to; mayntayning it there resolutely that whether he wrytt or no, he was present at all the counsells and gave his full consent. He lykewyse contesteth agaynst the report of any message he should send by the White Knight's daughter, and for the disswading of Thomas Oge,[b] pretendeth that you were not discon-

Examination of Desmond, and Florence M'Carthy. Desmond discrete, but Florence a vain fool.

[a] The letter to the Pope here alluded to was dated 30th March, 1600, and is printed in Pacata Hibernia, bearing the signatures of Tyrone, James FitzThomas, Florence M'Carthy, and Dermot M'Carthy.

[b] When Thomas Oge Fitzgerald was about to deliver up Castlemain to the young Earl of Desmond (see note [a], p. 41), the leaders of the rebels were, of course, very angry, and it was alleged that Florence M'Carthy sent the daughter of Edmund Fitz-Gibbon, and wife of Dermot M'Carthy, called MacDonough, to Thomas Oge, urging him, with forcible persuasions, not to take that step, and promising that he would undertake at his own charge and peril to see him furnished with victuals, &c. (Pacata Hibernia.)

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tented with it, because you could haue ben content it should haue ben his act. To be short, he makes it very merytorious to haue delyuered Tyrone's packetts to you, and I perceaue will draw in all his crymes so farre within the reache of his pardon, as wee must only make him a prysoner by dyscretion, and prayse you for your dyscretion to put it within our power, and so hath the Queen willed me to wryte vnto you. Of the Spanyards purposes I interrogated them; Desmonde affirmes that they meant to come for Lymericke, but Florence would needes haue it that they intended rather for Gallaway, wherin I assure you I ioyne with hym, being a place nearer to receaue correspondency from the Rebells then to come into Munster, where their party was broken, and where the northern Traytors are so farre remoued from them. And nowe, Sir, to speak of my owne opynion, what is become of the Spanyshe preparations, I protest to you I was neuer more to seeke for; there is no doupt but a navye and an armye he hath for Ireland (for so muche from the place itself I knowe) besydes all those advertysements which you haue contynually sent over, only this is my doupt that the ffleet which was mett at sea so many dayes synce was mistaken, and yett I am sure there hath not so fewe as a dozen sayle of shippes which haue come from Siuill, Auero, and from St. Tonall, which haue affirmed constantly that they came out in company with fifty sayle of shippes for Ireland. Nowe whether any storme might meet them vppon the coast and so put them into the Groyne, or the Bay of Alcaster, and so the fleet vnable to set forth againe being once dyspersed, I knowe not; only this, I am sure in England, Fraunce, nor Ireland they are not. But, Sir, I doubt not but you may be able to get better informacyon from Spayne, if you would take it to hart as well as I would pay for it. By this tyme I hope our new souldyeres are arryued, by whiche I belyeue this one thing will followe, that you will give lawe to that Provynce notwithstanding those brutes, and if they should proue true I presume you would dispute any reasonable place with them vntyll more forces come to you. I haue dyspatched dyuerse suters whom

1601. September 5th.

The Spaniards' purposes.

Supplies for Ireland.

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1601. September 5th. Divers suitors dispatched.

you haue recomended, as both the Greymes,[a] Thomas Oge, Capt. Fleminge,[b] Hurly,[c] and Crosbye,[d] who, I protest vnto you, incourageth many suters to importune me. And for my Lady Norreys he is both a Sollycitor and a great aduyser, as by this lettre it may appeare. This I wryte, not as mislyking the man, but to lett you knowe that he is greedy as well as wyttye, and yet I would not haue you dyscourage him, for I doe knowe you may make great vse of hym. The Lady is a Sutor for a standinge warde at Moyallowe, repyning, and remembring her husbandes deathe in her Majestys servyce and she no way relyued, vrging styll that all grownde and houses are spoyled, and that you neuer leaue aboue seaven or eight men in her warde. I pray, therefore, as well as you may, rydde vs of her importunytie. Her Majesty lyketh well of the course you haue held with James M'Thomas in the northern imployment especyally, because you haue lymitted a tyme, for els she saythe she shoulde be laughed to scorne.[e] Let me haue therefore, I pray you, by the next, what you vnderstand of that busynes. Nowe, Sir, to come to the state of our affaires: wee haue nowe for our obiect to speake only of the powerfull Syedge of Ostend, where there are nowe 7000 fightinge men, and in the campe 22,000. Sir Frauncys Vere, as I conceaue, is by this day in the Towne, and, although his woundes are as yett nothing well cured, yet his honor caryes hym thither. Of

Lady Norris desires a ward at Mallow.

Course taken with James FitzThomas approved.

Siege of Ostend.

[a] There were two officers of the name of Greame serving in Ireland. Captain Richard Greame, who was probably knighted for his successful services against the Sugane Earl (see note [a], p. 43), for we find him afterwards spoken of as Sir Richard Greame; and Captain George Greame, who is very favourably mentioned in a despatch from Sir Geffrey Fenton to Cecil, dated 29th April, 1601. (State Paper Office, Irish Corr.)

[b] Captain Fleming has been already alluded to (see note [b], p. 20). He was licensed to go into England, 28th June (1602?), when it was said he had done good service in keeping the Mallies and Flahertics from infesting the coasts.

[c] Morice Hurley, whose loyal courses are commended by Carew to Cecil under date of 22nd March 1600-1.

[d] Patrick Crosbie was frequently the bearer of despatches between Carew and Cecil. He was recommended as the bearer of despatches from Carew on 2nd May 1601, and as one who had served faithfully nearly twenty years.

[e] See note [a], p. 80.

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late when they were ready to make an assault at the west end of the Towne, the Governor cutt a dyke of some iiij^{o} pyke length dystant from a halfe moone made without the counterscarpe of the Rampyer, where they had lodged that night if the sea had not ben lett in, which hathe made hym to remoue xvij pecces that were ready to play on the west syde of the Sandhylls, which was the pryncypall place doupted by the Towne: and yet, to speake truly, wee are greatly afrayd least by the opening of that dyke there growe a daunger to the Towne: which it shrewdly threatens. The French king hath ben theis ten dayes at Callages, having neuer seene his frontyre. Herevppon there were many foolyshe Allaromes that he would ioyne with the Queen and Estates, rather than the Towne should be lost, but all that hathe vanyshed into smoake, only he hathe indeed honored the Queene farre, for he hathe sent the Mareshall Byron,[a] with whom comes the Count of Auergne,[b] Mareshall D'Aumont's[c] sonne, and many other, to the nomber of iij^{xx} or iiij^{xx} gentlemen. Her Majesty is in progresse, and receaues them at Basinge,[d] where there wilbe a great cort. And so, for this tyme, I commytt you to God. From the Corte at Aldermerston, Sir Humfrey Foster's house in Berkshire,[e] the vth of September 1601.

1601. September 5th.

Arrival of Marshal Biron as Ambassador from France.

Your very loving and assured freinde,

Ro. Cecyll.

[a] Charles de Gontault de Biron, Duke, Peer, and Marshal of France, Knight of the Orders of the King, Governor of Burgundy, &c. was the son of Armand de Gontault, Seigneur and Baron de Biron, Marshal of France, killed by a cannon shot 1592.

[b] Charles of Valois, Count of Auvergne, natural son of Charles IX. by Mary Touchet, uterine brother of Henrietta d'Entragues, Marquise de Vernueil (see note [f], p. 22).

[c] John d'Aumont, Count de Chateau Raoul, Baron d'Estrabone de Chappes, Marshal of France, born 1522, died 1595. He had three sons living at this time, Antoine, Jacques, ancestor of the Dukes d'Aumont, and Francois. It was, probably the second who is alluded to in the text.

They landed at the Tower Wharf on the day of the date of this letter. The Marshal took his lodging at Crosby Place.

[d] A house belonging to William Paulet, Marquis of Winchester, in co. Hants. For an account of the reception of the Embassy by the Queen, see Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. iii. p. 566.

[e] Sir Humphry Forster did not long survive the Queen's visit. He died 27th February,

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1601. September 5th.

[Holograph.]

Because I desire nothing more then to see you here, and yet you can consider that the Queen wilbe exceeding curious how the Province shalbe secured, First, I wish you in no sort to give out there that you haue any such purpose. Next, that you bethink you who may be fittest to hold your place in your absence. Thirdly, you may mak accompt that till October be half spent we shall not be secure of Spaniards. By the 24th our Parliament beginning, I will keep a room for you, and I wish you to wryte that you haue many thinges for the settling of the Province, and for the matter of the vndertakers to renew her profict, &c. to do, and that you will retourne againe within short Time. Certainly Tomond's fashion pleaseth not me. I haue now gotten his contry newly anexed to Monster if he will, and him made a principall Commander next you, and the chief Justice there in the county of Clare, as he is alredy chief by Marshall law, and yet he is not pleased. I do not think that he will be fitt to succed you in your absence, but some Commander will do well. I write this because you may thus, before hand, prepare all thinges. I keep all things quiet amongst our trowpe, but if you remember what Meg Ratlyff prophyssed, she sayd the pack wold breake, but I beare all and find nothing.

Arrangements for Carew's return to England.

Thomond made second in command, and Chief Justice, but not to act as President in Carew's absence.

Indorsed by Carew, From Mr. Secretarye
the 5th of September 1601.
Receued the 13th following.

XXVII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 108. Holograph.]

Sir,

1601. October 6th.

I haue written to you by Crosby at lardg, and of the Publick

1601-2, leaving his eldest son, William, his heir, then aged 25 years (Inq. p. m.), whose only son, Humphry, was created a Baronet, 20th May 1620, which title became extinct in his grandson, 1711.

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1601. October 6th. Supplies.

need say no more then what I write in the joinct dispatch; only know this, I will deuise to send you particulerly 20 horse to renforce your owne Troup, and so shall the Deputy haue 20 besyde the other 100 of the 200 to bestow where he will, for 100 Tomond hath gotten of the Queen. Say nothing of this to the Lord Deputy, for my Lord Admiral and I will make you two a present of an odd 40 horse ouer and abouc 200 which shall come into Monster. Logh Foyle shall haue 60 besydes, and all because you shall haue the less to come from the North to trouble you.

The Queen writes to Carew with her own hand.

I dyd make the best vse I cold to the Queen of your husbandry of the victuail, which, indead, I was afrayd wold haue much hindred the Lord Deputy's first drawing Hedd in Monster. It hath pleased her to giue infinite Testimony of her Favour and Grace towards you, and she hath written this inclosed to you with her owne hand. Shew it, or conceal it, as you think it will do you good or evil with my Lord Deputy, who, happily, may be touched with Æmulation thogh not with other vnworthy Humour. He may deceaue me, but I protest it shall grieue me, for my hart dearly loues him, and so much the rather because I know I haue deserued it, and I believe I shall in his carriadg to you find it, by which I told him I wold iudg a very great part of it.

Sir, I pray you giue him this inclosed and see it burned, and tell him I so desired you shold. For Sir Edward Wingfield,[a] I will be most gladd, I protest, to do him any pleasure.

Comend me to Sir H. Danvers.[b] And for conclusion, think you shalbe all cared for so as you shall say we be no Drones. Ostend will hold owt in spight of the Archduke, And if God bless my Lord

[a] Sir Edward Wingfield was the cousin of Sir Richard Wingfield, Marshal of the army in Ireland and some time Lord Deputy, who was created Viscount Powerscourt, and who dying in 1634, s. p. the title became extinct, but Sir Edward succeeded to his estates. Like his cousin, Sir Edward was an eminent soldier in the Irish wars.

[b] Sir Henry Danvers, son of Sir John Danvers of Dauntsey, co. Wilts, by Elizabeth, sister and coheir of John Neville, Lord Latimer. He was created Baron Danvers of Dauntsey, 1603, and Earl of Danby, 1626, and dying 1643, s. p. his titles became extinct. His sister and coheir married Sir Edward Osborne, father of the first Duke of Leeds.

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1601. October 6th. Deputy there, the new Spanish King will have no cause to bost this year for victories.

Of the odd horse which my Lord Deputy and you shall haue by a devise of my Lord Admirall and mine, speke nothing yet. All our freends are well, and long for you.

Yours,

Ro. Cecyll.

Tourn the leafe.

Sir,

I pray you let me intreate you to deliuer this lettre where your eyes may be witness that it is burned, and certefy me so much.

Sir,

Proposals to Tyrone

My Lord Admiral and I haue written to my Lord, that if he think he cold by any way find the trayterous capitall rebell (if now he find not likelihood of success by the Spanish succors,) so disposed as that he wold be made an instrument now to gaine by some infallible proof his pardon, I must tell you trew that, so her Majesty nor hers might seem to wo a traytor to her dishonour, she is so weary of this Irish warr, and so is all England, as we cold be content to be rydd of it, and so wold the Queen; and so is she content to open her self to you and the Lord Deputy, and none els in the Kingdom. You may take notice of it and conferr, but in anywise let swch Messengers be interposed as may not discouer weakness or facility in the State; but if they do propound for favour, let my Lord Deputy not feare to herken to them, for the Queen is contented to haue him to manadg it, in whose Judgment she will repose it and all els. 7 Or R. C.

to be made very secretly.

Supplies.] We direct our supplies and all to Waterford, thogh some say Yoghall were better, especially for victuaill; let my Lord Deputy send vs woord what we will do.

Indorsed by Carew, From Mr Secretarye Cecyll, dated, as by the pacquett appeared, the 6th Octr 1601.
Receaued the last of October.

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XXVIII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 110. Original.]

MY BELOVED GEORGE,

1601. October 13th. Sir Richard Percy to be Colonel.

I haue written to your Worthy Deputy that he will conferre upon Sir Richard Percy[a] the place of a Colonell, which he may now doe without breach of Instructions. You know how much I loue and honor the Noble Erle, who, notwithstanding his obligation in former tymes to those who esteemed vs as Jewes, dyd euer Loue us for the trueths sake;[b] whereof, because I am well acquainted with the interest he hath in your affection, I thinke it superfluous to saye more of his requeste then this, but it is very reasonable in all all mens opinions, the meritt of the gentleman considered; and that you must vse your best assistance in the motion, and in all such occasions as runn within your circle make our noble frend perceaue that wee are willing to advance his good desires. And so I committ you to God's protection. From my lodging at the Savoye, this 13th of October, 1601.

Your louing and assured frend,

RO. CECYLL.

Superscribed, To my honorable and Loving frend
Sir George Carew, Knight, Lord President of
Munster.
Endorsed, 13 October, 1601, Sir Robert Cecill,
from Court.

[a] Sir Richard Percy had done good service in Ireland, and was knighted by the Lords Justices 1599. In 1600 he was Captain and Governor of Kinsale, in which appointment he was confirmed by letters patent, dated 29th May, 1605. He was the brother of the Earl of Northumberland to whom allusion is here made.

[b] See the Correspondence of James VI. of Scotland with Sir Robert Cecil, printed for the Camden Society 1861, for the part taken therein by the Earl of Northumberland.

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XXIX.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 117. Holograph.]

1601. October 19th.

SIR,

I haue written to you by the way of Bristow since Crosby went, and then dyd the Queen write to the Lord Deputy a most kind and gracious lettre, whereof I send him the copy, and so dyd the Queen write to you another, both these of her owne hand. If you think the shewing of it will breed Æmulation (thogh in my conscience, now the Lord Deputy will entirely loue vs both,) then may you vse it as you list. We embark 2000 at Rochester in the fleet that shall keep the seas; those haue Captains, the other haue none, which shalbe left to the Lord Deputy; they Imbark half at Bristow, half at Barnstable, as the shipes they are drawn from ly most fitly. A 1000 are sent to Logh Foyle, to enable them to infest the northern Traytours. You see we scant you not.—God of Heauen send us rydd of this continwal vexation, for I haue here a Purgatory, and am sequestred in you (the Lord is my witnees) from one of the dearest freends I haue amongst the Soonns of men. I had kept a Room for you in the Parliament, thogh now I dispayre of it. I will hold a Room for you in my Hart, and so assure yourself of

The Queen had written both to Mountjoy and Carew.

Supplies.

Cecil laments Carew's absence.

Your louing freend,

RO. CECYLL.

I pray you tell my Lord Deputy that it is against my soule that we appoinct one Captain, but it is my Lord Admirall who now doth afect that; for myself, what a Coxcomb I were to troble my self with that Business, which you know naturall I like not, and do know that whensoeuer I shold haue but a desire to runn into the vanity of that company's afection, he that winns ten hath no body, and he that looses one getts all that a rayling tong can giue him. I wish, therefore, that my Lord do write vnto my Lord and me, no way seeming particularly to suspect my Lord, for he will vppon a

Jealousies.

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kind lettre tourn to his desire; and let him therein desire vs to haue care of him in that Particuler. Recomend my service to my Lord, and wish him, from me, as much as I wold wish myself. 1601. October 19th.

Indorsed, From Mr Secretary, dated,
as by the Packett appeared, the
19th of October, 1601.
Receaued Primo Novem: 1601.

XXX.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 119. Holograph.]

SIR GEORG, 1601. October 19th.

Hauing now nothing to write to you into that Province, but of mine owne dear wishes of all Happiness vnto you, and of the infinite Contentment which my Hart conceaueth in the sincere afection which the worthy Deputy beares you, I do spare mine eyes and leaue you to his keping in whose Provydence I trust, hoping when our great supplies arriue you will think how to spare some relief for the reregard of that kingdom, or rather the hart, lest it should be conceaued that for an army of 3 or 4000 that are in case to byd battaill, all other parts be forlorn, the clamour whereof doth lessen the reputation of that Glory which I hope those raskall Moors will giue to her Majesty's Deputy, if God send thyther our supplies by land and sea before the Spanish support come to them, which wilbe before January, and therefore no Time to be forslowed, when with safety any attempt can be made. And thus in hast I end. Assurances of affection. Supplies.

Your assured frend,
RO. CECYLL.

I haue answered Ned Wingfields [a] lettre, and do protest to you I am so far from wishing him ill, as I wold be gladd of any good Sir Edward Wingfield.

[a] See note [a], p. 97.

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1601. October 19th. shold befall him, but you know he can look for no privacy with me, for his disposition and mine are not for Society.

Superscribed, For Her Majesty's speciall affaires.
To my honorable frend Sir George Carew,
Knight, L. Presydent of Munster in Ireland.
Indorsed, From Mr Secretary, dated, as by the
packett appeared, the 19th of October, 1601.
Receaued Primo November, 1601.

XXXI.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 121. Holograph.]

1601. October 31st. SIR GEORG,

By this Bearer I haue nothing to write, for I am sure by this Time you must haue receaued many Packetts.

A spy. I haue resolued to vse him in Spaine for the Queens service, and he must gett his creditt in Ireland for any other circumstances, wherof I refer him to you wherin he may need your help, and so I end.

Yours,
RO. CECYLL.

I wonder that my Lord Deputy on the 24th had not receaued the Queens lettre with her owne hand.

From the Court this last of October, 1601.

Burn this and think it concerns his lyfe.

Superscribed, To my honorable frend,
Sir George Carew, Knight, Lo.
President of Munster.
Indorsed, 31st Octobre, 1601, Mr Secretarie
from the Court.
Receued at Mallo, the 24th November, 1601

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XXXII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 129. Holograph.]

SIR,

I find your lettre in all things so concurrent with my Lord Deputys, as it comforts me much to see two so vnited, that do *conuenire in eodem tertio* of Loue to me. For answer to all things I must referr you to our Dispatch Generall, wherby I hope you see motions are regarded. For the Fleet to continew, Sir, we can nott allow it, neyther do we hold it to be the way to restraine Spanish succors to kepe Irish harbours, wherof there be more than the Queen hath shypps. To Spaine, therefore, we send, and for the rest you must take your chance. 1601-2. January. The fleet to be withdrawn from Irish waters, and sent to Spain.

We send you 60 last of Powder, and all things belonging, but we can not send it all at once, yet haue we giuen order to shypp 30 by sea and 30 by land, if we can haue carriadge. If the Tools be nowght your office is to blame; and for the coyne, seing we intend roially to keep vp the exchange, we wonder why it should be spurned at. We haue moued the Queen to set open all ports to carry corn, beare, or any victuall custome free to the army. You must not think that the Spaniards were directed now to fortefy Castle Hauen because they landed, for I know it quite contrary, but that they feared to come to Kinsall. So as I do fully speak my mind that if you beat these in any Time the King will be better advised, but if you do not the King will follow it, and yet this last supply was merely the tayle of the first army which was severed by storme. The next supply comes from Lisbon, and is compounded of the remaine of his army which he imploied in September for Algier. All other thinges go well here. The Queen (blessed be God!) well. Your freends no changelings, neyther of one kind nor other, and thus hoping we shall heare some happy Nues from you, I end. Supplies. Finances. Ports opened. Spaniards at Castlehaven. Reinforcements expected.

Your afectionate freend tyll death,

RO. CECYLL.

Indorsed by Carew, From Mr Secretarye.
Receued the 9th of Febr 1601.

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XXXIII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 151. Original.]

MY GOOD LORD,

1601-2. January. You may still see how glad wee would be to beleeue words when they make for our desires in the world, (be we of private or publicq qualities,) where on the other syde, in thinges not lyked, oathes and voues are often excepted against by vs, out of the just reasons which we see of constant prejudice, when our desires makes vs not soe credulous. In this case standeth it with our deare Souverayne, who being almost in conflict with herself how to terrifye future Traytors, when so horrible a Traytor is receaued, especially vpon any conditions, he pretending to aske none, doth *ponere rumores ante salutem*, seeing onely how she descends (a little in one poinct onely), but sees not what by it she riseth vp otherwise, especially yf (vpon these points) God doe her the favour to stey the Rebellion. From hence therefore cometh this her Ma^ty^s postscript by me (for so I may terme it, because it succeedeth the perclose of the letters) the effect whereof followeth, but so carryed as it takes nothing from your former power geuen in her owne letters, though it recommends to you (yf it might be without overthrow of greater considerations) the accomplishing thereof. In which, as I could not avoyde Obedience to disclose it vnto you, being with that Reservation as not to ouerthrow the Mayne, so, my Lord, I know you would satisfye her in it too, yf you could, and I hope, both for your discharge and for myne owne, will take notice of your owne desire to haue don all you could in this nature, and of your reception of my letter, which form will satisfye then, because she is not presently crossed, and so her passion, by little and little towards him spending, will geue way when she sees, by experience, what will be retourned in these things which now she styll insists vpon to be moued, as not impossible (yf it be tryed) or at least not inconvenient to impose, yf

Conditions of pardon offered Tyrone.

The Queen's inconsistency.

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1601-2. January.

it can be gotten (straight opposing their opinions which denye nowe that the effects will prooue so) with the words of his owne submission, of which all wee know, hee will looke to be explaned, *per Civilem Interpretationem*. Shortly, therefore, her Majesty desires you should seeke by all the best meanes you can to promise him Pardon, but by no name of Tyrone hereafter, for that name she sayeth is ominous and odious, and rather she would haue him named Baron of Dongannon, or, if needs must be, some other Erles name, but not Erle of Tyrone. Secondly, Sir, she would be glad it might not be found that he should haue that contrey so larg as he either claymeth or made it, but to see how, *honoris gratia*, you can pare it. Lastly, that where he makes many artificial Plashes in paces to hinder passages, thereby to liue less accessible, she would haue him injoyned to alter them. Now, Sir, know I pray you hereby, that this is her owne, and neither our proposition nor conceipt, but rather sufferd, *pro tempore*, then wee would loose the former warrant by contesting too long against that which will dye as soon as she is satisfyed from you that we have obeyed her, and that you find the impossibility of these things which she would be glad of, but so as not to prevent the rest; and therefore now I have done all, and sayd all. I know in these last I have said nothing, and yet in obeying I haue done much. And so, hoping by your next dispatch you will write that which is fytt to be showed her Majesty, and that which is fytt for me to know (aparte), in which kind all honest servants must strayne a little when they will serue Princes, I end

Title of Tyrone to be abandoned.

Baron of Dungannon not objected to.

His country to be curtailed if possible.

Private communications.

Your Lordship's afectionate frend to comand,

Ro. Cecyll.

From Court this 18th of Februarij, 1602.

[Holograph.]

You see that though I know what your answer will be for these things, yet that I aduenture to write my conceipt how you should satisfy by writing that you wold have don if it wold not haue hurt

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1601-2. January. Cecil's confidence; but this letter to be returned.

the whole. I wold not do this to 2 men liuing, and vnder my hand to no man, if other it cold be. If, therefore, you will, for accidents vnlooked for, retourne this my letter, I will thank you; your warrants for that which you must do, or can do, remaining vnder her owne hande.

Indorsed by Carew, 18th Februarij, 1602.
Letter to the Lord Deputy.

XXXIV.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 153. Original.]

1602. March 25th.

SIR GEORGE,

Carew's visit to England refused.

I hope you are sufficiently assured how greevous a thing it is to me to want you, as I shall not neede to vse many arguments in the poinct of your being denyed to repaire hither, for I protest vnto you, after I had earnestly laboured for the Deputy, I was also denied it for you. I will now, therefore, returne to those thinges which are in question, wherein I would be infinite gladd to heare of your good success. You know my minde at Large, how great a peece of service I hold it that the kingdome is rydd of forraine power, wherewith I am persuaded you shall not be troubled this sommer (yf at all) in respect that her Majesty's fleet being now vpon the coast of Spayne doth geue rather occasion for them to stand vpon defence; besydes, that I am certainly aduertised that vpon the landing of the Spaniards at the Groyne there grew great variety of counsailles, and a plaine resolution taken to doe nothing tyll Don Juan were heard; what peradventure may be don in the ende of harvest, as was last tyme when they shall see the scope of our sea action (for more it is not), is hard to be conjectured; but sure I am, tyll September be done, her Majesty will keepe a constant fleet vpon their

Fleet on the Coast of Spain.

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coast. My hope is, therefore, that my Lord Deputy will, in the meane tyme, prosecute the Rebells, and none more than those false revolters, whosoeuer they be;[a] and so must I say to you in Munster, that her Majesty in no case can think of pardoning those men of note who, hauing ben once receaued to mercy, yet now revolted when forraine power arryued. You must consider that her Majesty hath great cause to be infinitely enraged with O'Sullyvan that wrott that letter, whereof I thought fytt to geue you notice least you should in any sorte deale easily with him, or geue him any conditions, if you can choose; besydes, Sir, her Majesty is so desirous to haue the peeces as you may in no sorte compound for them with him, for vpon my word (though it be but matter of forme) yet yf it may be your luck to take that castle,[b] and not to compound for them, I shalbe very prowd of it in your behalf; for, yf it should happen otherwise, though the substance of the service be performed, yet they that diminish the honor of the last composition will do the lyke for this. Because you may see how her Majesty directeth the Deputy, I send you the substance of our last dispatch; and so for this tyme I committ you to God's protection. From the Court at Richmond, this 25th March, 1602. 1602. March 25th.

Your loving and assured frende,

RO. CECYLL.

[Holograph.]

If in my particuler you desire to know how I do, I say thus shortly to you, that of all our Number (God knoweth it) excepting

[a] We have seen that most of the principal gentlemen of Munster had from time to time made their submissions, and, although on the arrival of the Spaniards they did not at once again revolt, they continued not long faithful. Tyrone and O'Donnel made their appearance from the North with a large force, when they were immediately joined by the Lord of Lixnaw, John FitzThomas, the Knight of the Valley, Dermot Moyle M'Carthy, brother to Florence, O'Sulivan Beare, and many others. The latter gave up his Castle of Dunboy to the Spanish reinforcement—which was, after a terrible resistance, taken by Carew by storm.

[b] Dunboy Castle at Bearhaven.

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1602. * March 25th.

3002 (?)* and 2050 (?)* I have none but vypars. and those who are so discontented do suspect 2 things in you, one that you loue 2047 (Mountjoy), another that you are the darling of 2030 (Cecil), and that your reputation now gotten will make the meanes of 2030 (Cecil) easy, as well as his desires are greedy, to advance you. 3000 (?) doth you good offices, neglect him not. I make all men that loue 2047 (Mountjoy) confident that you are his freend. I write thus much to this End, that in your letters to those two 3006 (Cobham?) and 2048 (Ralegh ?) you do not extoll 2047 (Mountjoy), nor yet write any thing to humour them which might infect th'other, for they shew all men's letters to every man. If in any other Folly you heare that I am misguided, or like to be inchanted, I meane for Loue or Marriage, know this vppon my sowle that I know no sowle on earth that I am married vnto or wold be if I mowght. No, I seek safety, wish I had you, and rest *al solito.*

Yours,

R. C.

At the Ending of Sommer we shall see what may be don for your retourne.

Superscribed, To my honorable frend Sir George Carew, Knight, Lord President of Munster in Ireland.
Indorsed, Mr Secretarye, the 25th of March, 1602.
Receued the 3 Aprill, 1602.

Abstract of the Counsaills letter to the Lord Deputy, dated at Richmond the of March.

They perceaue by his Lordship's former letter the state of her Majesty's affaires there, and they are sorry that by the Spaniards lying so long windbound at Kinsale so great opportunities are lost

* Probably these numbers refer to the Howards.

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against the arch-traytor when he returned so broken, and who (as they are advertised) is now vtterly vnprovided of powder and leadd, and maketh infinite meanes to gett some out of Scotland. That they have vnderstood by some ships that are returned from Spaine (which transported and landed, a good while since, 1600 Spaniards at the Groyne, of those of Ireland), that Sebuse and O'Donnell were in that port returned from the Court of Spayne, and that in that port were laying some few ships ready to have come for Ireland, which upon the arryving of the Spaniards were straight vnfurnished and discharged. In which consideration, as well as by other advertisements from Spayne, it appears that there grew an alteration of Counsaill upon the newes of Don Juan's composition.[a] 1602. March 25th.

They allowe of his Lordship's purpose to leaue some forces in the West to proceede on to weaken the Rebells. In which course they doe finde, that by receauing submissions and granting of pardons her Majesty hath formerly benefyted little either in profitt or security; for that few that have ben pardoned haue continued loyall out of duty, but out of discretion, and that it is written from Waterford that none carried himself so insolently as Donnell Spaignagh.[b]

And therefore, that among other conditions which his lordship shall impose vpon those that will submitt themselfs, her Majesty's pleasure is they should be disarmed, which may be more honourable then the best pledges they can geue.

They are glad to heare of the arryvall of Vittle and Munition, and, seeing her Majesty's Store is so exhausted here, especially for Munition, that his lordship will supply the other Province from that Magazine.

For the Cittadells and fortifications, her Majesty doth allow of the proposition, but desired to be advertised where, and in what kind, his lordship will haue them, and what wilbe the charge, and how it may be boren.

[a] Don John del Aquila, the Commander of the Spanish succours.

[b] Donnell Cavanagh, son of Donagh son of Cahir. He was called "Spaignagh," from having resided four years in Spain. He made his submission in the autumn of 1600.

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1602. March 25th.

For issuing of one pound and half of beefe to a soldier; that it has euer ben so, and can not now conveniently be changed.

For Oates at 15*s.* there is order taken that they shalbe cheaper issued, when the next shall arryue.

They commend the discreet courses of intercepting the Spaniards letters, which they have shewed to her Majesty.

That her Majesty meaneth not to abandon the assistance of the Low Countries, and resolved to keepe her fleet (which is now going forth) with some of the Low Contreys, all this yeare vpon the coast of Spayne.

They haue vnderstood that some attempt hath ben made at the Black water by the Traytor; and, seeing the tyme is unfytt now to send supplies from hence, they moeue his lordship to help that garryson, and the rest thereabouts, from his owne Armye.

For Neale Garvy,[a] being possessed of whole Tyrconnell, they hope his Lordship will forsee that he be not made too absolute, nor that, vnder culler of his being her Majesty's subiect, he preserue all O'Donnell's Creaghts; nor that by any grants to be passed to him her Majesty be not so barred of any forfeitures of the whole vpon treason committed by the Patentees.

They remember his lordship to reforme the intertayning of so

[a] Niall Garve O'Donnell, son of Con, son of Calvagh, was the representative of the elder branch of the O'Donnells, but the chieftaincy had been usurped by Hugh Roe, (see note [a], p. 19) whose sister, Nuala, Niall Garve had married. This injury made him very discontented, and overtures were made to him, that if he would submit himself to the English Government, he should receive the whole country of Tirconnell. In 1600 he came in to Sir Henry Docwra, and on many occasions behaved with very great bravery against the Irish. Having assumed, however, as an Irish chieftain, a greater degree of power and authority than was acceptable to the English authorities, an opportunity was sought for setting him aside. Upon the death of Hugh Roe in Spain, he proceeded to inaugurate himself O'Donnell. This caused the English great annoyance, and the Lord Deputy brought forward Rory O'Donnell, the brother of Hugh, who was created Earl of Tirconnell, and given all the country except what Niall had held under Hugh Roe. Sir Henry Docwra, although an instrument in these proceedings, felt that Niall Garve had been very unjustly used. In 1608 he was arrested upon a charge of being implicated in O'Doherty's conspiracy, and he died in the Tower of London, after 17 years' confinement, in 1626.

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1602. March 25th.

many Irish, especially in Connaugh, where they heare there are six Companies of meere Irish. And pray his lordship that the meere Irish Companies doe not exspect money for apparell, because they neuer doe vse it; and there is no reason their pay should be equall to the English. That since the writing of this letter they haue receaued his Lordship's of the 12th March, and perceaue the hast he makes from Munster, and they haue heard by Sir Amias Preston [a] of the Spaniards departure; and so, remitting all other things tyll his Lordship's next letter, they ende.

XXXV.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 169. Original.]

1602. June 24th.

SIR,

I am right sorrye that I haue cause to be beholdinge to any man in a matter of this nature, though (seeinge necessity forceth me) it pleaseth me better that it is to you then to any. In short, Sir, this Gentleman (in whose companye this lettre comes) is sonne to Sir Edward More,[b] whoe is one I doe esteeme extraordinarily both

[a] Sir Amias Preston, Vice-Admiral of the Queen's fleet, 1601. He was granted the Office of Storekeeper of the Ordnance in the Tower, 7 May, 1603, the reversion of which appointment was granted to Sir Roger Ayscough, 18 May, 1604.

[b] Sir Edward More of Odiam, co. Hants. He married to his second wife Frances, daughter of William Brooke, Lord Cobham, widow of John Lord Stourton, and sister of Lady Cecil, who is here alluded to as having held Carew so dear. The relationship between the Brookes and Carew we have not been able to discover (see note [c], p. 78). Sir Edward More's first wife was Mary, eldest daughter and coheir of Sir Adrian Poynings (brother of Thomas last Lord Poynings) by Mary, daughter and sole heir of Sir Owen West, next brother and heir male of Thomas last Lord de la Warr. By her he had several sons, all of whom appear to have pre-deceased him, for in his Will, dated 24th April, and proved 19th May, 1623, (Prerog. Court, 53 Swan) he mentions as his heir apparent Edward, son of his youngest son William deceased. He describes this Edward as being very young, and, in conformity with a promise of the King, he gives the wardship of the body of his said grandchild, and of his lands and marriage, to his Executors, Sir Thomas

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1602. June 24th.

for himself and for my Lady his wife, to whom you can well gess how iust respects doe tye me, from which you are noe less free then I am, she beinge your kinswoeman, and the Sister of her that held you so deare; and soe much for his person and my respects to satisfye the gentleman. For the rest you shall vnderstand that he hath been verie leawdly inticed to intangle himselfe with the daughter of Arthur Milles,[a] by whom he hath noe other portion but of suspected fame, her breedinge (as it is sayd) beeinge far from any good disciplyne. This accident hauinge wounded the father (whoe had fixed his especiall care vppon him) makes him desyrous (by all means possible) to remoue him from her conversation, to see if it can be possible to make him see his blyndness, and be content to further those courses which may be taken to proue the marriage vnlawfull, whereof, they say, there be verie many iust occasions; for which purpose my desire is that you will fynd the meanes to place him in some good sort in some regiment or garrison, where he may be furthest from hearinge from her and her freinds, and yet soe as you may heare of him if he should start to sayle ouer, wherein the more care it pleaseth you to take of him in any way, the more I shall thinke

The son of Sir Edward More

has made an improvident marriage.

Courses to be taken to prove the marriage unlawful.

Young More to be kept out of the way.

Drew, who had married his daughter, and Sir William Pitt. To his daughter-in-law (*blank*) More, late wife of his deceased son William, for her maintenance he gives an annuity of £30, upon condition, nevertheless, "that neither she nor anye other for her doe endevor or attempt to get the Wardship of the bodie and landes of my grandchild Edward More her sonne, nor doe interrupte my Executors in theire obteyning the same." From this it is concluded that William More was the young gentleman whose marriage is mentioned in the text, and that his wife, whose Christian name was not known to her father-in-law more than 20 years after her marriage, was the daughter of Arthur Mills. In the codicil to his Will, Sir Edward More makes one or two bequests which seem worthy of notice. To his daughter Lady Stourton he gave his late "wife's cabinet, and all her bookes, and her Pawle coller velvet gowne, and a crimson velvet petticoat, both laced with gould, and a doublet of cloth of gould to it." To his son Drew he gave his "coach and four coach mares, with theire furniture;" and to Drew's eldest son his "guilt bason and ewer, which was his first wife's, with the Poyninges armes on the bushell of the bason."

[a] To Arthur Mills, Groom of the Privy Chamber, in 1611, was granted the benefit of the recusancy of Lady Isabel Thorold, widow, co. Lanc.; Merill Wickliff of Wickliff, co. York; Anthony Roper of Eltham, co. Kent; Cardwell Bradbury of Pickenham, co. Norfolk, and Mary Gerund, of St. Clement Danes, co. Middlesex. (State Papers, Dom. Corr.)

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myselfe beholdinge vnto you. The best newes that I can write for the present is that Sir Richard Luson[a] hath taken a Carracke; for other matters I referr them vntill we heare from you, not knowinge now what fortune my lettres may run where you are. And soe for this tyme I commit you to God. From the Court at Greenwich, this 24th of June, 1602. 1602. June 24th. Sir Richard Leveson.

Your verie louinge and assured freind,

RO. CECYLL.

Superscribed, To my honorable and verie Lovinge freind Sir George Carew, Knight, L. Presydent of the Province of Munster in Ireland.
Indorsed by Carew, From Mr Secretarye, the 24th June, 1602.
Receved the 2nd Sept. 1602.

XXXVI.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 167. Original.]

SIR,

For the matter concerninge Captain Hobies Lieutenant,[b] if you doe fynde the matter soe iustifyed as his accusers haue don him noe wronge in makinge him author of soe slanderous a report of her whoe all the world knowes to be innocent, euen of the least part of such imputation, her Majesty doth wish that it might passe ouer in silence, and the Caytiffe weare out his dayes in prison rather than be put to publick triall. For the matter of Thomond, it is trew that the Deputy and Counsell haue written agaynst annexing it to Munster. Notwithstandinge, it doth not follow therefore that it must be 1602. June 30th. The Queen slandered. Annexation of Thomond to Munster.

[a] Sir Richard Leveson of Trentham, co. Stafford, Admiral of the Queen's fleet in Ireland. He married Margaret, daughter of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral.

[b] Lieutenant Thomas Wyscham, who was charged with having said that he had heard from twenty men's mouths, that the Queen had committed fornication with the Earl of Essex. He died in prison in September of this year. (State Paper Office, Irish Corr.)

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1602. June 30th.

altered to be absolutely under Connaugh, but may remayne as it doth till further consideration. For my Lord of Thomond's cominge ouer I doe not know, beeinge in that Province, but he may verie well repaire hether if he haue your leave, though I am of opinion that theis sommer tymes are not the most proper for those that are principall Commanders to come hether. For the matter of the fortification of Corke and Kinsale, the Deputy wrote to the Queen about it, and she hath giuen leave to him to make the harbour gardable according to his proposition, soe is she pleased that at Kinsale you goe on with the fortification, and bestow the fyne which the Town of Kinsale is sett at,[a] vppon all which the Deputy will write to you by virtue of her Majesty's authority, to proceed with theis thinges within your government. Of the lands that are belonginge to the Queen, which you wishe shall be stayed in Munster, you may be assured that there wilbe noe such hast of disposing of them, and when they be given they shall not be bestowed without your privity. And soe I committ you to God. From the Court this 30 of June, 1602.

Fortification of Cork and Kinsale.

Your verie lovinge and assured freind,

Ro. Cecyll.

Indorsed by Carew, From Mr Secretarye,
the 30th June, 1602.
Receved the 2nd Sept. 1602.

[a] Carew writing to Cecil on the 14th January 1601-2 says: "When the inhabitants of Kinsale quitted the town, they brought to the Lord Deputy their Charter, seal, standard, and mace, to manifest their duty to Her Majesty, and to have them safely kept."—Carew thought it expedient to make them pay a fine on the restitution of them, the fine to be applied towards raising a fortification there. Writing again on the 9th of September following he says: "It seems unto me that the Q, the lls, and your Honour is (*sic*) mistaken in the one thing, wherein Her Matie giveth allowance to the L. Dep. to bestow the fine of Kinsale upon the fortifications. I humbly beseech you to peruse my letters sent unto you about that matter, and you shall find that I did but make a project, that I thought it meet for the Q's charge (when the townsmen should be suitors for the restitution of their liberties) that some fine might be imposed upon them, but never did I say that any fine was imposed. What my L. Dep. hath written I know not." (State Papers, Irish Corr.)

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XXXVII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 193. Holograph.]

SIR GEORG,

1602. June 30th

The long sylence which hath ben between vs hath ben by expectation of your retourn or your success, my self being so oppressed with a world of business as I had not time to write of complements, and to write matters of moment was subiect to mischance, in mine opinion, consydering the place wherin you are lapped, from whence God of heaven send you safe.[a] Of publick Nues, my deare Georg, I haue written with another man's hand those things which do pass, but I do not meane to be so wholly in the publick as to sett all discourse asyd of our particuler, after which I know you herken. For my self, in short, the same creditt I had when you left England standeth well with me, and all other lybertyes remaine so free of mind and body (I thank God) as when you retourn you shall find me the same you left me. The Queen vseth many gracious woords of you, and comendeth your services, so as of that Poinct I need say no more but this, that I wish you here, and dowbt not but if you were you shold tast of some good, for God is my trew witness that I afect your good as much as any man that lives, but how that shalbe, God is my Judge, I can not recommend; for first the Deputy presseth infinitely to retourn at October, and that will depend vppon the Issew of this sommer and many other circumstances, yet shall I likewise haue as many plucks for you, for such is her Majesty's opinion of your stey to that Province, as she will think it lost if you come out of it; but for my part this I wold wish, that after the end of the Harvest you wrote that you are sick, and desire but to retourn for 2 or 3 months; by that time Spaniards wilbe come or no, and during

Cecil's oppression with business.

His credit with the Queen is not diminished.

The Queen commendeth Carew.

Cecil desires his return.

To feign himself sick, and to come over.

[a] At this time Carew was engaged in the attack upon Dunboy Castle, which, after the most obstinate resistance, perhaps, known in modern times, surrendered to the English arms.

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1602. June 30th.

that aboade here we will woork you somewhat; but, Sir, when you do come I wold wish you still to pretend to go back, because that chardg and honour there shall keep of your reputation still, and happily we may find, when you are once here, somebody fitt to be vice presydent still, and hold it vnder you here, or, peradventure, you may wholly part with it, as we shall see cause, in which *Res consilium dabit* when you do come over. First he had need be a man well esteemed and frended here, that we shall allow there to be your vicepresydent in your absence, so as I am perswaded Commissioners may be better at first apointed temporally (*sic*). Think of those before hand, and rather then faile, if moderate petitions will not serve, deceaue the world, and vse arguments of some shrewd sickncs to come over, for, Georg, it is necessary that I haue you here if any good in this Time be wrought you, which God long lasten; Know it, we will be merry, and yet believe me 2 old freends[a] vse me vnkindly, but I haue couenanted with my Hart not to know it, for in shew we are great, and all my revenge shalbe to heape coales on their hedds. In my conscience they wold not haue you to retourn, yet when you do leve to come home, seem not to them that you come to swe for any thing, nor do not let them know but that you will retourn and are in sickness, and moue them 2 to conioin with me by coniuration of old Frendship. Noble Thomas[b] and Catherine salute you *al solito*, and I do now conclude that I am the same in Hart and in body, but worse in Purse.

Commissioners to be meanwhile appointed.

Jealousies and estrangements.

Yours,

Ro. Cecyll.

I answered many things by Crosby.

Indorsed by Carew, From Mr Secretarye, without date, but as by another lettre in the same packett it appearethe that it should have date the 30 June, 1602.
Receued the 2nd Sept. 1602.

[a] Cobham and Ralegh.

[b] Thomas Howard, Lord Howard de Walden, married Catherine, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir Henry Knyvett; see note [c] p. 24.

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XXXVIII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 173. Original.]

SIR GEORGE,

Although I am one of the Company that haue written vnto you a large lettre, yet publicq dispatches cannot satisfy myne owne mynde to goe alone, who haue euer ether particular cause or private affection where withall to fyll a lettre. Therefore I will keepe myne owne woont, though I haue no great matter of importance: and first excuse myself by these two arguments: one that I styll expected to heare from you: another that the winde hath kept those dispatches which are at the sea syde: for all which let it now suffice that you haue ansuer to most of your propositions, and thankes for all your actions; of which (good George) beleeue (yf I could once contrive your returne) I would not doubt but to procure you some frutes, and therefore you may obserue what I haue written in my last lettre. I send you the copy of her Majesty's lre as well as the originall, because, peradventure, you can hardly read the charactre,[a] as also a clause in my lords of the Counsells lettres, that the Deputy would take some care to renforce the Province. Now, sir, to speake of the Spaniards:—I must confesse that you haue great reason to expect their coming, and I shall neuer be beaten from the Principle that, how so euer Don Juan dyd flatter you all at his departure with seeming to detest the Contrey, but that the King will when he is able attempt the Kingdome again and mend all his faultes. Now when I consider that he shall not doe so to send an other petty army; and that her Ma^tys fleet both hath ben on his coasts (which hath kept his provisions from being vnited) and is again to goe to that coast tyll Winter come (by which interruption this yeares preparation may come short), I am not resolued but that this action

1602. July 18th.

Cecil sends a Copy of the Queen's letter, lest Carew may not be able to read the original.

Expects the return of the Spaniards.

Further supplies deferred.

Cork to be strengthened.

[a] The Queen's letter is printed in Pacata Hibernia.

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1602. July 18th.

may be deferred till the next spring. In the meane tyme you doe well to strengthen Corke, for her Ma^ties keeping so good a harbour and some good Townes shall styll haue meanes to supply the Kingdome, and can never be sayd (though the Spaniards may possibly possess some places) that she is not Mystris of the Kingdome. I

Marshal Biron.

can not write vnto you that Biron is dead; but you shall see some extracts of a lre from the King to her Ma^ty, whereby you may perceaue what he is resolued to doe, and how he resembles the case of the Erle of Essex to his owne. That Biron hath ben a great practiser is certain; but that all is true that they speake—that he would haue killed the Kinge, or haue carryed him into franche Compte when he should haue gone a hunting in Burgundy; that he would haue killed the Queen and the Dolphin; it may be suspected rather a matter divulged to make him odious then that it will be well proued. Onely this is certain, he practised to be a Cantoner of France, receaued money of the King of Spayne, and had both insolently spoken to the King vpon many discontentments, and of the

La Fin his chief accuser.

King. La fin,[a] a brother of Beauvoir La Nocle, is one of his chief accusers, whome the King pardoneth (as his reward) both of Murder,

Comparison with the Earl of Essex.

Sodomy, and Whichcraft. It pleesed me not a little (seeing God had appointed our Erle to dye) that we had other manner of proof of his conspiracy, that we beheld him in open Rebellion, and heard him (before his death) confirme all with open confession; for otherwise who doth not know how partiall this Kingdome was to

Foreign Affairs.

condemn his opposites[b] of malice and practise. The States great Army, having lingered all this while in the Contrey of Liege, haue now altered their desseing for going to Flandres, as well for want of

[a] La Fin was a gentleman of Burgundy, who had carried on the negotiations at Turin and Milan between Biron and the Duke of Savoy, and Fuentes. Having ruined his fortune and offended the King, Biron no longer placed the same confidence in him as formerly, and, being himself under the suspicion of the King, to secure his own safety he treacherously betrayed his principal, by revealing every circumstance connected with the conspiracy.

[b] The Cecil party.

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provisions to carry him thether as for the unexpected opposition they found throughout all the Contrey: the enemy hauing drawen to head as strong an army as the States, and sett downe hard by them, besydes that the Pesants were generally armed. The States haue made their retreate towards Graue, which they haue now besieged, hauing taken in their way Helmont and Eyndhouen, the chief passages which the enemy had to come to relieve it. Wee are now going our Progress towards Bristol, where (I protest to God) I haue ben thinking whether I might not procure you leaue to come ouer, but that (I feare me) all doubt of the Spaniards will not then be removed, and happily such a start hinder a longer aboade. I will rather hope in Michelmas terme to see you, and shew you your Chamber in my new house,[a] whereof your picture keeps possession, and so for this tyme I comit you to God his protection. From the Court at Greenwich this 18 day of July, 1602.

1602. July 18th.

The Queen's progress.

Yr louing and assured frend,

Ro. Cecyll.

[Holograph.]

I was desirous to write as much in this as is contained, which I assure you (being overwhelmed as I am with dispatches) I cold not do conveniently; for this poinct therefore, which concerns your retourne, you must think that in cases publick Princes forget particulers, so as if in my swte for your retourn I do not shew my care to leaue the Province quiet I shall not be confident. Send me therefore woord whom you wold leaue Vice Presydent, that the Queen

Arrangements in Munster during Carew's contemplated absence.

[a] Stowe, speaking of Russell or Bedford House, says: "It stretcheth from the hospital of Savoy west to Ivy Bridge, where Sir Robert Cecill, principal Secretary to her Majesty, hath lately raised a large and stately house of brick and timber, as also levelled and paved the highway near adjoining, to the great beautifying of that, and comodity of passage.

"Ivie bridge, in the high street, which had a way under it leading down to the Thames, the like as sometime had the Strand bridge, is now taken down, but the land remaineth as afore, or better, and parteth the liberty of the duchy and the city of Westminster on that south side." (Stowe's Survay.) The lane still remains at the back of Cecil Street in the Strand.

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1602. July 18th.

may be like to accept, for Wilmot[a] or any such she will not. Send me also woord whom you cold wish as Commissioners, for that may (be) I think most pleasing. To conclude, good Georg, belieue me I want you, and do remaine for euer,

Yours affectionately,

Ro. Cecyll.

To write to the Lord Admiral, and to Cecil privately.

Write to my Lord Admiral to reviue old bands and moue him to further your retourn. Toutch to me in private what your place wold beare for you to part with to some Vice Presydent, and you to liue here with the rest, as Norrys dyd.

Indorsed, From Mr Secretary, the
18 of July, 1602.
Receved the 2 of Sept. 1602.

XXXIX.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 187. Original.]

1602. August 7th.

Sir,

Although I fynd you haue cause to mislike my silence, for which I should haue misliked my self, yet because I doubt not but your man Clifton is with you (who had a packett) and an other was sent to you since that, I hold that poynct satisfyed, although I think you haue noe cause to be satisfyed towardes him in that behalf. I haue nowe little more to write to you at this tyme then to advertise you that there are 2000 men appoynted to be in readynes at Bristoll and Chester by the 15. of this month. The reason is because their sendinge all, or in part, will much depend vppon the Deputyes answears, to whome what we haue written will appeare by this inclosed. Since the writinge whereof, we haue receaued advertise-

Supplies.

[a] Sir Charles Wilmot.

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ment from him that he is retourned to the Neurye to refreshe the army, and intendeth to begynn agayne to goe into Tyrone. For your better vnderstandinge whereof I send you allsoe some clauses of his owne lettre written before he can have receaued ours. And now, Sir, to make you acquaynted what is trew or false in Spayne, and what my private opinion is therevppon, you shall vnderstand as followeth: By one newly arrived from the port of Lisbone (where he tooke shippinge the 21 July last (*stilo veteri*), there are in Lisbone two great shipps of 1000 toon, one called the Great Andera, and of the other, which shalbe vice admyrall, the name is forgotten; besydes theise there are but 12 shipps of 200 tonn and downwards, in which it was resolued to haue sent some 1500 men to haue relieved the seidge of Beerhauen, the newes of the takinge whereof beinge written from Waterford to Lisbone, the 16 day of July, and not before. Of theise 1500, 800 came from the Groyne, beinge part of those that weare transported out of Ireland. In the Groyne remayneth O'Donnell, and there only the Great St. Philip with ten small barkes, with which he mightilie importuneth to be sent into the North, if theise had been sent into Munster, hopinge vppon his owne arrivall with some 1000 or 1500 men to have possessed some port, and made a beginninge of a plantation, whereof great benefitt must needes haue growne to the Rebells; for as those small nombers which should haue landed in Munster, with the bruyct of the rest to follow (which is allwayes multiplyed) would haue made a distraction of the Ulster proseqution, soe that descent with him in Vlster would haue raysed the new hopes of all the northern Rebells. And truly (my Lorde) when it is considered how great a benefitt it is to the Kinge of Spayn to consume the Queen with charge in Ireland, by his bestowing only once a yeare some such forlorne Companyes, besides that he keepeth vpp some kind of reputation abroad in followinge on his first deseigne by sendinge a feawe, which (beeing added to that which fame spreadeth of greater nombers) filleth the world with contynuall rumours of his vndertakinge humour, I cannot be secured but that he will still feed that fyer with fuell,

1602. August 7th.

News from Spain.

Reflections thereon.

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1602. August 7th.

although I know it a vanitye to beleive those other fond reportes of such preparation and such armyes as he is noe way able to embrace; for you may be assured, whatever you heare of gathering of nombers by land to this place or that, they haue only been for defence agaynst such attemptes as they did ignorantly suspect from the Queen and the low Countreyes, and to contayne obedience within his Kingdom in the south partes, where the Moores haue been verie apt to take armes. And for the Gallyes whereof you haue heard soe many to be brought out of Italye, these weare intended for some enterprise against *La Razze*, soe as the bruict that they should haue come for Ireland was idle. Only it is trew that Sir Richard Leveson[a] defeated those 8 Gallyes, which weare come as fare as the northwardes of Lisbone under the conduct of Spinola, whoe vndertook to bringe them into the Low Countreyes for Sluce; for of those eight, two being sonke, a third was spoyled and neuer able to goe to sea, the other five weare allsoe soe tourne, and the slaues so mangled, as we look not to heare of them in theis quarters this sommer. Soe as I assure you, though our Carrike prooue not so much worth as we expected, having been much pillaged, and many of the goodes taken wett, yet hath the gentleman deserued an extraordinary reputation. I haue now deliuered you, rather out of my private affection, my private opinion that no great army will come, then that I mean soe to contest agaynst the contrary opinions which are here contynually multiplyed from thence, of the great armyes the Kinge of Spayne amassed, as to fynd any preparations which may come from hence, whereby that Kyngdome may receaue any Comfort; first, because I know the verie bruicts of leavyes here must needes giue help to your proceedinge; next I know what a folly it is in cases which concerne a kyngedome, to diswade any manner of supplyes, whereof the lacke may prooue perilous, especially in this state, which is soe exhausted (by that warr of Ireland only) as it is an easye woorke to dyvert all actions of charge, especially whensoever they may thinke to secure their opinions by mayntayninge those groundes to which I should

Spanish gallies defeated by Sir Richard Levison.

[a] See note [a], p. 113.

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1602. August 7th. Return of the Earl of Thomond and Sir George Thornton to Ireland.

inclyne, to whose place it principally belongeth to giue best iudgment of forrayne Intelligences. My Lord of Thomond and Sir George Thornton [a] haue taken their leaue this day, and for my Lord of Thomondes satisfaction in his owne cause, there are lettres written to the Deputy and Counsell that if they make difficultye to annexe the County of Clare to Munster, they shall yet, for the tyme, lett it stand as it doth till he may repaire to Dublyn to make good his cause to the L. Deputy, soe as I take it his (*sic*) is gone away not ill contented. And as for Sir George Thornton, the Queen hath vsed him verie graciously, and is pleased that I shall be his Sollicitour after Michaelmas for some such portion of Landes as convenient, wherein I haue made him see how much your recommendacions haue steeded him. One thinge more I may add, that the Queen hath promised that you shall retourne in the wynter to see her for some month or two; which beinge all I haue at this tyme worthye your knowledge, I committ you to God's protection. From the Court this 7th August, 1602.

Carew's return promised.

Your affectionate freend for euer,

RO. CECYLL.

Because it is informed that divers abuses are committed by the apparaters in issuing forth the apparell to the Soldiers, by detayning sometimes one or two pair of shoes and stockings vnder pretext that they are afterwards delivered to the Captens, I haue sent you here a note of such apparell and armour as is contracted for here, that the soldier may be furnished accordingly.

Abuses of the Apparaters.

[a] Sir George Thornton was of long service in Ireland as a Naval Captain. We find him in readiness to set out as early as 1567, and frequent notices of him are found in the State Papers from that time down to the date of these letters. In June 1602 he proceeded to England, bearing a letter from Carew to Cecil in his favour, and mentioning that he had served thirty years in Ireland. On the 11th of August Carew represented to Cecil that the return of the Earl of Thomond and Sir George Thornton was much needed. Thornton arrived at Cork with eight ships, one having been forced by very foul weather into Waterford, on the 11th of October. (State Paper Office, Irish Corr.) He was Provost Marshal of Munster, and married a daughter of John Lacie of the co. Limerick, in which county he appears to have had a grant of lands. (Lamb. MS. 223, 73.)

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1602. August 7th. Lieutenancy of the Ordnance.

I heare that meanes is made vnto you for your office in the Ordenance,[a] and I haue been dealt with for my good will therein. Good Georg, be not hasty in that till you and I may haue consydered of a better fortune when we meet, which I hope shall not be long, but do not me any wrong in this to say that I do diswade you, for if it be to those which I haue heard of, it will breed me vnkindnes.

Superscribed, To my honorable and Loving
frend, Sir George Carew, Knight,
L. President of Munster.
Indorsed by Carew, From Mr Secretarye,
the 7 of August, 1602.
Receued the 2 of Sept. 1602.

XL.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 204. Original.]

1602. August 9th. (?)

SIR GEORGE,

I haue written so many letters vnto you which haue stayed so long for winde as I neede make no further excuse, because you see how far I haue ben from any neglect, onely now I am determined to be a partner with you yf you can make vs a good bargain, and that is in the quarry of Stone whereof you sent me a patterne; for, although I haue not any lyking to your mineralls, yet I haue caused this to be pollished, and finde it will prooue very faire, which yf it doe, and yf we finde that it be neere any portable Ryuer that may carry it to the sea, I assure you dyuers workemen tell me that there is no better in Italy nor Germany. Send me word by your next dispatch in whose ground it is, and yf for some small matter you can buy it wee wilbe merchant aduenturers, and I will keepe a Lodging for you in my new house, whereof the chemeney shall stand vpon

Speculation in Irish marble.

To be used in Cecil's new house.

[b] Sir George Carew was Lieutenant of the Ordnance in the Tower. He continued to hold that appointment until June 1608, when he was made Master, and the Office of Lieutenant was granted to Sir Roger Dalison.

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1602. August 9th. (?) Sir Anthony Cooke returned sick.

some of these marble pyllars: and so much for this great business. You shall now vnderstand that Sir Anthony Cooke[a] arryued here weake and sickly, but very well able to come to the Queen, who vsed him very graciously. I shewed him the lettre you wrott by him in his commendation, for which he hath cause to thanke you, and I too; but, yf I shall tell you my opinion, I think Ireland will kill him if euer he retourne. I find by him, and by other aduertisements from you, styll an apprehension of the Spaniards coming: but yf you doe compare them, as they are deliuered, one with another, how they crosse, you shall first perceaue that of all the great army whereof they spake no man euer sawe 4000 together, but he that is at one port speaks what he heares is at an other, and in those things (besydes that it is a vanity to thinke of transporting 2000 horse out of Spaine, or that it is not very vnlikely that he can send 15,000 men out of that Contrey), I haue euer obserued that euery bruit is multiplied. But, Sir, I do not speake herein to any ende to mooue you to change your course of advertisement of all that is brought you, for therein you doe yourself right, nor to deliure my opinion that between this and Michelmas there is not great probability that he will send as much as he is able, considering the low ebbe of the

Rumours of Spaniards.

[a] Sir Anthony Cooke of Romford, son of Richard, son and heir of the learned Sir Anthony Cooke of Giddys Hall, co. Essex. He was knighted by the Earl of Essex in 1596. Sir Thomas Norris on the 26th of March, 1599, reports his arrival in Ireland with a body of horse. He appears to have rendered valuable services. On the 30th August, 1600, Carew writes to Cecil in his behalf, as Cecil's "near and dear kinsman (see note [d], p. 74), who has been a daily labourer in this hard service without intermission." When James FitzThomas and Florence M'Carthy were sent to England in August 1601, Sir Anthony Cooke was entrusted with the charge of the distinguished prisoners. He returned again to Ireland at Carew's request in November of the same year, but he was the bearer of letters to the Privy Council and Cecil, dated 11 Aug. 1602, in which Carew states that "he is grievously tormented with the most intolerable pains a man can endure." This it is imagined is the letter of commendation alluded to in the text, and it shews that the date assigned to this letter, 9th of August, is somewhat too early, it being prior to Cooke's leaving Ireland. It being indorsed in Cecil's own hand, however, the Editor has not altered it. Sir Anthony Cooke, like his father and grandfather, was High Steward of the Liberty of Havering, co. Essex. He married Avice, daughter of Sir William Waldegrave of Smalbridge, and was buried at Romford, 28th December, 1604.

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1602. August 9th. (?) Rebells; but onely to lett you, in priuate, know my opinion that, as in all this tyme (when it was bruited his forces would haue ben come ere this tyme) I knew he was not ready, so I doe know now that he can bring no army bigger than Don Juan came out withall, and for any man to thinke that impossible when he hath ben so long preparing, and may imbarque (when he lists) ships for transportation, no man that knowes forrain things but will conclude it. For matter of Galleis doe not looke for any there, except it be that he may, peradventure, when he resolues to fortifye and dwell in Ireland, keepe some two or three there; but to talke of 20 or 12 galleis for Ireland, though they were at Lisboun, is without reason, for who doth not know that with the Galleis all the forces of Italy are brought into Spayne, and in the sommertyme from Sivill they doe transport along the coast continually both men and diuers other things of small bulke. But, Sir, what euer you haue heard, this is the trueth, they doe draw to a head at Lisboun, and there may be (what with those that come out of Ireland, and some other out of Sivill) some 4 or 5000 men, for there are come by land from the Groyne 800 soldiers that were vnder Don Juan, and by sea some 1000 more; the other bruits and rumours of men mustering in Spayne proceede from this occasion, that hetherto they have apprehended an Invasion at Lisboun. In the meane tyme you see, as before I haue written, that you are not neglected, for we haue directed you 1200 men to make vp the lyst, and, because wee could send noe more Captens from hence, and that the Deputy hath written (as here you doe perceaue by this inclosed), her Majesty hath directed the other 800 men for Dublin. I doe thanke you very much for the private lettre you haue written, wherein you haue sett down your opinion yf the Spaniards lande, of which I determine to make the best vse I can for her Majesty's service, being for myne own parte absolutely resolued that yf an army farr vnder 12,000 shall lande, wee can not transport such an army as shall be force suddainly extirpate them; for, it being vncertain where they descend vntyll they lande, who can imagine that such forces shalbe vittled in any one quarter as may be

Supplies.

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1602. August 9th. (?) Florence M'Carthy's letter to Cecil.

able to pull them out by the eares? tyme must doe it, and the Queen must keepe dignity in her principall Cittys, which beinge done Ireland is not lost. You shall vnderstand that Florence M'Carthy of late hath ben very desirous to write to me, of whose wordes though I know well what accompt to make, yet I thought it not amisse to send you a Coppye of that I receaued, because you may see how probably that witty knaue can argue.[a]

Concerning the exchange. Concerning the exchange, I haue taken care that your 400*l.* may be pased, but I protest vnto you that I doe find the merchants doe now make absolute trafficq of the Exchange, and I feare me the Paymasters take in Bylls too fast; yet I heare not answered that they are ouerruled by the Provinciall Gouuerners, which makes me call to minde that I can skace conceaue any good reason how my Lord of Thomond should in any reason come to charge the Banque here with 1000li. But, Sir, by that tyme you haue this lettre you will haue enough, and therefore I will now conclude, hauing sent you here inclosed a coppy of our newes of the Low Countries, and a relation of Biron's death, being now more doubtfull when I receaue

[a] In this letter Florence M'Carthy represents that the Spaniards will make another descent upon Ireland, and that, although the King of Spain knows that the people of Munster will hold by him, which is a great encouragement to him, he believes the Spaniards will not now land first in Munster. He points out the advantages they would have secured on the late invasion had they landed in Galway, and says he remembers a thing which he is sure will be a great encouragement for them to come, whereof he knows they have intelligence, and in which he is sure he may cause a great important piece of service to be done for her Majesty, if it may be accepted at his hands; and that if Cecil will be a mean for him to the Queen's favour, acquainting her with his offer of services, in which he solemnly pledges himself to deal faithfully, not only by revealing any thing which may be prejudicial to the Queen's service, but also, if he be granted that liberty in England which will put his friends in hope of future favour, and encourage them to do for him, he will endeavour (if there be occasion and opportunity for it) to cause the greatest piece of service that may be done in Munster to be performed, for which he reminds Cecil he has better means and knowledge how to compass it than any other, having studied it longer by reason of a private quarrel, and he assures him that for the quieting of the troubles of Munster no man living can do more good there, in person, than he can do in England, the strength there that keeps and maintains them being his country and the chiefest men that be in action there being of his country and command. (Lamb. MS. 604, 210.)

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1602. August 9th. (?) your lettres (in fearing what they bring) then I haue ben all this yeare, for now is the month proper for them. I send you an advertisement also, though of little moment, concerning Lymmerick. I leaue all to your jugement, comitting you to God's protection, and doe assure you that I will euer be founde

Your loving and trew frend,

Ro. Cecyll.

Cobham and Ralegh. You can not haue answer from my Lord Cobham because he is at Douer, nor from Sir Walter Ralegh, because he is in the West, newly come out of his Island; the rest will write vnto you by the next; in the mean tyme, blessed be God, I saw not her Majesty so well these dozen yeares.

Indorsed by Carew, From Mr Secretarye,
which came with a lettre of the Lords
(brought by the Erle of Thomond)
hauinge date the 9 of Aug. 1602.
Receved the 6 of Octobr. 1602.

XLI.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 179 Original.]

1602. August 30th. Sir George,

If it weare not rather to quarrell with you then to vse you kyndly, I would not haue written to you at this tyme, first, because I am sure you shall receaue soe many lettres before this, wherein you shall see your owne fault committed in your last packet of the 20th August; and next, because I haue soe iust reason to say vnto you, *modicæ fidei quare dubitasti?* But now my choller is spent I will proceed to some particulers, which in some of my dispatches I haue not touched. When I consider that you are like to make soe good a ffortification of Halebolinge, as it wilbe a good overseer

Halbowling Castle a curb upon Cork.

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1602. August 30th.

to Corke (which is one of the principall Cittyes within your Gouernment) I would not wishe it to be bestowed vppon any that weare not your freind or follower, and of good discreation, for, as you may sort vnto it some such allowance as wilbe a good reward for any that you know honest to the state and your self (wherein you shall both haue creditt and doe the Queen service), soe if you will advertise me what manner of command you would haue it made, I will so cary it here as it shall be established; for indeed I fynde that it wilbe the trewest way to haue such bridles in every Citty, and it is the course to which the Deputy soe farr inclyneth in his Counsayle, as he hath propounded it to be much better (now after this prosecution) then to keep a chargeable army as the Queen doth, whereof he promiseth the Queen great abatement vpon his retourne, if Spaniards come not: and I doe not doubt but he will be contented for 3 or 4 such places (within your Gouernment) to like of those of whome you shall name; wherein if you doe take this course only (when you place them) to write vnto him that you do it provisionally till you know his pleasure (and seeme not in noe sort to do it with any other assumption) if he shall like them, I will, vppon your notyce given, write vnto him and lett him know that I doe giue you still such assurance of his constant goodwill towards you, as you doe the rather presume to intreat his favour for such thinges, and you shall vnderstand that his Lordship hath allready made the like overtures to me, to prevent a recommendation from hence of any other to such fforts as he shall rayse within that kingdome, as you shall see by this note inclosed. It doth remayne now, Sir, that I doe saye somethinge vnto you for proofe of my owne former opinions, and yet inioyninge you to noe precipitate security, though I wishe you to divulge abroade how short the Rebells' hopes are like to be out of Spayne this yeare. In which poynct I am the rather moued to allow of your proposition for the preventinge the lycencious trafficque with Spayne. I haue written in my former letters, that, notwithstandinge all the bruicts of the Spanish preparations, that I could not beleive that all the sea preparations in Spaine were meant

Such bridles desirable in every city.

Carew to make provisional appointments of Constables in Munster.

Irish assistance from Spain not probable.

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1602. August 30th. for Englaud or Ireland, nevertheless, because in cases of perill it is better to do to much then to little, especially for me to whom the knowledge and iudgment of forrayne thinges most properly belongeth by my place, I haue been (as you see) forward to supplyes, but if noe man shall distinguish soe of Intelligences as to prevent the infinite expense which contynual leavyes of men and preparation of royal fleets would exhaust, the Kinge needs noe other weapon to warr with England then false bruicts, or our ignorance here that knowinge more then you can there are not able to reconcyle extreamityes. For which consideration, when I knew that he had resolued

The reasons. to send into the Lowe Countreys ten or aleaven thousand men, and apprehended a purpose in the Queen and the States to invade him in Spayne, and besydes did know that he had an Enterprise vppon the Turke, I considered that the bruict of puttinge soe many men in a readynes in Spayne was but a generall muster for defence (which is the wisedom of all nations when they suspect invasion), and for the sea preparation (which consisteth of soe many Gallies) I knew that those weare only proper for such a deseyne as the enterprise where now they are ingaged agaynst the Turke, wherein, though in Christianity I may not wishe a Heathen prosperity, yet as one that professe a Religion whereof that Kinge whoe is the Pope's right hand doth seeke the extirpation, and wherein I meane to live and dye, I can hardly wishe him other fortune then the same which his grandfather had at Algier.[a] Soe as I thought it sufficient for that instant, in respect of the infinite murmure of the people (because somethinge should be done) to give new terrour to the Rebell and new comfort to the Queen's Party, that 2 or 3000 might be sent into Ireland with

[a] In 1541 the Emperor Charles V. conducted in person an expedition against Algiers. He landed his army, both horse and foot, with provisions for three days. An engagement took place without the town, in which the Spaniards were victorious, but in the mean while arose a great tempest, by which the Spanish ships were driven on shore, and 150 ships laden with victuals, artillery, munitions, &c., were wholly lost, with all on board. The Spanish army was reduced to such distress that they were constrained to eat 2200 of their horses. Charles reached Spain after this disastrous expedition on 2nd December, 1541. (State Papers, vol. i. pp. 719, 720.)

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1602. August 30th.

other magazines of munition and victuall; for, although this King had been of strange potencye to send twelve thousand men one way and fiveteen thousand another way (all in one yeare), which requireth for transportation a strange preparation of shippinge without long provision before hand, consideringe what ffleets he hath to mayntayne for the Indias and what scarcety of maryners he allwayes fyndeth, yet I was not, nor am not, of opinion but he may at all tymes when he will make a generall imbargo of Strangers' vesselles to transport 3 or 4000 into Ireland, which, peradventure, he will thinke well bestowed, though they doe not but spend and dyvert the Queen for the tyme, till he haue accommodated better his other deseynes; for prevention whereof it is still resolued to keepe some shippes still vppon the coast vntill the winter monethes come further on, which we are the rather forced to doe because the Holland ffleet is now come hoame as soon as they had gotten a good bootye (to the vallue of forty or fiftye thousand pounds). Thus doe you see how, between my care to saue vnnecessarie expence and my feare to be subiect to event if my intelligences should deceaue me, in what a state your freind standeth, only I comfort my self that as Almighty God hath hetherto guyded my iudgment, not to giue ether false advertisement or absurd advise, soe he will contynew his favour towardes me, whoe haue noe other end whylst I liue then to doe my countrey service, the confidence whereof is my defence agaynst envy and slander, and serues to comfort me agaynst payne and perill. What, therefore, Spayne does you shall perceaue by this inclosed, soe as if noe more soccour come then is likely, I doubt not but Ireland wilbe well secured. For your apprehension of Cormack M'Dermott[a] your iudgment is well allowed, and I haue giuen order for the stay of his soon [son], but for your purpose to send him ouer I write you to forbeare that till you haue aduertised more particulers, and receaued dyrection in that poynct. For the matter of your Exchange, the 400li is satisfied, but where you would haue a promise dormant for 600li to be yearely answeared you shall haue it in effect, but not accord-

Cecil's patriotism his solace.

Cormack M'Dermot apprehended.

Exchange.

[a] See note [c], p. 87.

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1602. August 30th.

inge to your owne forme; especially now I am fayne to shew my self drye to all men, because we are a little drye in the Exchequer now, and are fayne to be reserued to the merchantes whoe shall be payed, though in trewth such is their infinite practise vppon the Exchange as we haue deferred them awhyle for payments vntill Wattson [a] come out of Ireland agayne, whoe is goone to examyne many of the abuses, wherein, though I beleive well of Mr Thresurer,[b] yet it cannot be that such hudge sommes and quicke retournes should charge the bankes if his Ministers made not private benefitt, *sed de hoc alias*. You do now know what I haue receaued out of Spayne, which I think will ease your mynd, though as I writ before I would haue you vse it for a while *tanquam inimicis venturis*, for feare of the worst. I heare there is a pretty ffort at Galloway; I would there weare as good an one at Lymerick, Waterford, and Kinsale, for I am of opinion that the Spaniards will never come into Ireland

Fortifications.

[a] On 20th May, 1601, a Proclamation was issued for the establishment of a new coinage for Ireland of less value than the sterling money of England. This coinage consisted, in alloyed silver, of shillings, sixpences, and three-penny pieces, having on one side the Queen's Arms, crowned with an inscription of her usual style, and on the other a harp crowned, being the arms of the kingdom of Ireland, with the inscription "Posui Deum adjutorem meum." There were also in copper, pennies, halfpennies, and farthings similarly stamped. The use of English money in Ireland was prohibited, and all coins were called in. Officers of Exchange were established in Ireland, at Dublin, Cork, Galway, and Carrickfergus; and in England at London, Bristol, and Chester. The value of the Irish money was 5 per cent. below the English standard, but great abuses took place with regard to the exchange. The Irish money was much disliked, and on 15th February, 1601-2, the Lord-Deputy and President Carew urged upon the Privy Council the restoration of the current coin of England. On 1st August 1602, Thomas Watson reported to Cecil that her Majesty had gained by the base coin £151,608. 9*s*. 8*d*., and entreated that the Exchange might be maintained; and on 10th October, 1602, Sir George Carey, Treasurer at War, in writing to Cecil by the bearer Thomas Watson, states that that person had full instructions to make known to Cecil all matters pertaining to the Exchange, and represented that the Exchange must be kept up. This Thomas Watson was the Exchange Master in London, and agent for the Treasurer at War. (State Papers, Irish Correspondence.)

[b] Sir George Carey was appointed Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer at War by patent dated 1st March, 1598. He was appointed to act as Lord-Deputy on the return to England of Lord Mountjoy. Patent dated 30th May, 1603.

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without assurance of some Townes at their first landinge. To conclude, I haue sent this letter by Padstow where there is a Postbarke, and whether I am sorry I haue not hetherto dyrected my Packetts, which was but forgotten; for that is described to be a verie good outlett, and vntill I see your choller past and that your great hart be come downe to confesse you haue synned agaynst my vnchangeable affection and confidence in your loue towardes me (till an Angle from Heauen advertise the contrary), I will not write one word more, and yet I am in so good Charity with you as I would buy your company with 1000 crownes. And soe for this tyme I committ you to Godes protection. From the Court at Oatlands, this 30th of August, 1602. 1602. August 30th. Assurances of affection.

Your afectionat freend,

Ro. Cecyll.

Indorsed, by Carew, From Mr Secretarye
the 30 of August, 1602.
Receved the 9 of October, 1602, of Mr Apsley.

XLII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 195. Original.]

Sir,

I haue acquaynted my Lords with your letters by Capt. Moyle[a] 1602. October 1st.

[a] Captain Moyle was a naval captain serving in Ireland. The Lords Justices, writing to the Privy Council, 22nd July 1598, say, "The Sea Captains Moyle and Flemyng are arrived here this week; who, together with Thornton, the Captain of her Majesty's Pinnace here, are ready to be employed in that service in which your Lordships have directed them." Carew, writing to the Privy Council, on 21st September 1602, says, "My last dispatch unto your Lordships was by Capt. Henry Moyle, bearing date the 10th of this present." (State Papers, Irish Correspondence.)

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1602. October 1st. Fortifications.

and Willmott, who like verie well of your proceedinges for the matters of fortification; leauing vnto your iudgment (whose eye seeth best, and whose vnderstandinge of circumstances know what is fittest for her Ma^ty^s service,) the progress or stay of that matter. In the matter of Cormocke Dermott[a] I am gladd you haue found out the meanes to make ouer some money for his mayntenance; for he lyeth vppon my purse; and I do further desyre you to lett me know what we shall doe with him, and whether it weare not better to send him to Oxford agayn (beeinge now in London) where he may be bredd upp in learninge and as farr from corruption as here in London, where if he be noe prisoner he may escape, and to be keept still a prisoner I thinke it a little seveere. Nevertheles my meaninge is that some eye shalbe had of him soe as he shall not be a day missinge but notice shalbe taken. Send me by the next your opinion, and if you can procure any of his friends there to enter into sufficient bondes for him to be forth-comminge here I thinck it weare a good course. As for your motion to send ouer Cormocke, the Queen seems yet a little ticcle to trouble the Tower, and wishes rather he weare sent to Dublin: but thereof by my next I will aduertise you; but for your taking of his Rentes in the meane tyme, *de facto*, it weare not amiss; and that you did aduertise the L. Deputy thereof to receaue dyrection. Allwayes methinkes the ordinary course which now you should take (if his treasons be so manifest) weare to putt him to his triall and then stay his execution; ffor the clappinge them vpp without proceedinges (whereby the faultes are made knowne to the world) may prooue scandalous; but herein I doe but deliver you my private opinion, wherein you may vse your

Cormack M'Dermot's son to be sent to Oxford, and bred up in learning, but to be closely watched.

Cormack to be retained in Ireland, but Carew to receive his rents.

Suggestion that he be brought to trial.

[a] Cormack M'Dermot's eldest son, Cormack Oge M'Carty, who was created Baron of Blaney and Viscount Muskerry, 15th November, 1628; he died in London in 1640. His eldest son was created Earl of Clancarty by Charles II. in 1668; which title, having become extinct, was restored to the descendant of his sister Helena, who had married John Power, in the person of William French, Viscount Dunlo, in 1802.

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owne iudgment. The Queen liked your letter verie well,[a] and meaneth to resolue between this and Allhollowtyde both of the Deputyes comminge over and yours. There is now allsoe come a letter which shews the departure of Edney,[b] which you haue vsed verie discreetly; and for the Ciphre I like it better a thousand tymes then old Herriottes Locks and Keyes. Of your disposition to place Skipwith[c] in Kinsale, you are like to receaue allowance, and (in my opinion) he is a very fitt man. I wold there weare as good a Commander at Doncannon, where we hear of many absurdityes in Brockettes[d] government. Those places which should haue

1602. October 1st. Carew's letter pleasing to the Queen.

[a] This is an allusion to Carew's reply to the Queen's autograph letter mentioned p. 117. It is printed in Pacata Hibernia. He says: "If I could sufficiently expresse the Ioy which my heart conceived when I beheld a Letter written by your Royall hand and directed unto me, your Majestie would not, in your more then abounding Charity, mislike your paines, hauing thereby raysed the deiected spirit of a poore creature exiled from that blessing which others enioy in beholding your Royall person, whose beautie adornes the world, and whose wisdom is the myracle of our age." Having entreated for permission to return to England, if only for two months, he concludes: "But as I am your Majesties creature, so I doe submit the consideration of my humble and just suit to your princely consideration, at whose Royal feete, and in whose service, I am howerly ready to sacrifice my life." If grave statesmen like Carew and Cecil could write to the aged Queen in this strain, what might we not expect from gay courtiers like Essex or Ralegh! The letter is dated 20th September, 1602.

[b] Thomas Edney. He was a servant of Sir Henry Bagenall as early as 1592. (State Papers, Irish Corr.)

[c] Captain Henry Skipwith was the third son of Sir Richard Skipwith of Skipwith and Ormsby, co. York, by Mary, daughter of Sir Ralph Chamberlain of Gedinge. He married Margaret, danghter of Sir Richard Fulwar, and his grandson Fulwar Skipwith was created a Baronet 25th October 1670. Captain Skipwith is mentioned in 1598. In a letter to the Privy Council, dated 21st September 1602, Carew mentions that the keeping of Castle Park has been promised by the Lord Deputy to Captain Henry Skypwyth. (State Papers, Irish Corr.) This was the Fort of Kinsale. He was appointed Constable by patent dated 20th June 1611, upon the recommendation of his sufficiency. He died 1629-30.

[d] Sir John Brockett was knighted by Essex in August 1599, and succeeded Sir John Dowdall as Constable of Duncannon Fort in 1601. In August 1602, he was accused by Richard Dole, a soldier in the fort, of making counterfeit coin, and upon searching his desk, tools and other instruments were found. Among the State Papers of this period are the depositions of various persons, including those of his two sons, John and Thomas Brockett, upon the subject. (Irish Corr.)

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1602. October 1st.

to doe with Townes would be commanded by men of honesty and temper: therefore I wish you to place a good one at Hale-bolin, and in Corke, for els we shall heare of infinite discontentements. The Queen hath noe fancye to Sir Edward Wyngfeild for any of these Commandments, which because I know, it makes me loath to returne him answeare. For the poynct of Kinsale, wherein my lords mistooke you, there is noe harme done, nor shalbe, for it was rather my mistakinge than theirs.[a] Some here giue out that theise woorkes at Corke and Halebolin should be done by Sir Edward Wyngfeild, and that the Engineer is noe way acquaynted. This is only deliuered vnderhand, for otherwise it is not spoken, and therefore scarce worth the writinge. As for your two Pieces, I think they will be booth allowed to the Maister of the Ordinance, and yourselfe by our next dispatch, wherein methinkes if they be soe serviceable for the Queen they mought be vallued, and you receaue some money from them there rather then the Queen should buy new, and for those other pieces of Sir William Wynter's,[b] they shalbe sent you, that they may be there rather before then to late. And now, Sir, of the Spaniards: You will beleiue a Secretary the better another tyme. Of poor Arthur[c] I haue had some letters, but none later than July, and in those he would haue made me beleiue the same wonders which other Irish brought to you. But, Sir, our Fleet keept them from vnitinge, and the great supplies which the Kinge of Spayne was forced to send into the Low Countries made him in little humour to meddle with Ireland this yeare. We haue yet seaven shipps abroade which we looke not for till November. The Erle of Northumberland is now a happie man, for God hath blessed him with a yonge Soonn, to which her Majesty intendeth to be Godmother.[d]

The Earl of Northumberland hath a son.

[a] See note [a], p. 114. [b] Admiral Sir William Winter.

[c] Sir Arthur Chichester.

[d] The Earl of Northumberland married Dorothy Devereux, daughter of Walter Earl of Essex, and widow of Sir Thomas Perrott. He had had two sons, successively, named Henry, both of whom died in infancy. One was buried at Petworth in 1597. He had also had two daughters, both of whom were living. The birth of a son and heir was therefore a matter of great rejoicing. This was Algernon, who succeeded his father, in 1632, as

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1602. October 1st. Affairs of the Low Countries.

The defeate of the Gallies is wellcome newes to Zeland, and such is the extreeme mutynye in the Archduke's Campe, beeinge gone further then euer any Mutynye did there, we doubt not but Ostend will still hould out, whereof there is some better hope because (notwithstandinge all the meanes that haue been vsed to stoppe vpp the Hauen) the Shipps doe enter dayly, and euen now the Lord Gray [a] (in his retourne from the Camp at Graue) is gone in to see the towne, whom we look for verie shortly. As concerninge your whale, it is trew that we haue heard of her, but that she is but a little one, not aboue 60 foote longe, soe as I think you will haue noe great accompt to make of her, nor prooue verie riche by that purchase. Thus haue you all that the present affords; which I am willinge to send you, because they (*sic*) may be some stay to your wynde, and an argument that I am not idle, whoe, I doe protest, haue written this day more dispatches then I haue had merrie dayes since I saw you. And soe for this tyme I committ you to God's protection. From the Court at Oatlands, this first of October, 1602.

Cecil's diligence.

Your verie lovinge and assured freind,

RO. CECYLL.

Superscribed, To my honorable and verie
Lovinge freind, Sir George Carew,
Knight, Lo. President of Munster.
Indorsed, From M[r] Secretarye, the 1st of
October, 1602.
Receved the 8: of Nov: 1602.

10th Earl of Northumberland. He was baptized on the 13th of October of this year, but the Queen was not his godmother. The Earl of Northumberland had afterwards another son named Henry, who, in 1543, was created Baron Percy of Alnwick, and died 1652, s. p.

[a] See note [d], p. 22.

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XLIII.

1602.
October 24th.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 199. Original.]

SIR GEORGE CAREW,

Cecil's desire of Carew's return.

I neede not discourse to you how much comfort your Retourne would bringe my hart, seeinge your owne iudgment cannot but tell it you, except you thinke me a foole, and your owne honestye assures it you, vnles you thinke me a Jewe who haue sealed it to you with so many Christian vowes. In which respect though I could alledge soe many reasons as would teach him that had but common sence that the thinge hath infynite difficultyes, yet I will only vse to you a feaw argumentes, because a word is enough to a wise man, and because there needes noe third person, or thinge, mediate our mutuall confidence. You shall vnderstand therefore that her Majesty hath been exceedingly importuned by the Lord Deputy to haue had Lycence to retourne into England for some two monethes, whylst the Army was to liue in Garrison, vrginge further that it would haue been of verie great advantage for her Majesty's service that he might haue had some personal speach with her, before whom he could have layed many weighty groundes of consultac̃on, to which her pleasure were fitt to be knowne, to the intent that he might tread in the pathes of the same. All which notwithstandinge, her Majesty beinge loath to take the pott from of the fyer while it is seethinge, (this tyme servinge now to order and settle all thinges for the future wherein he is the most potentiall Instrument,) and she (not knowinge what effects it would woorke in the mynds of that kingdom, when by his retourne they mought be in question of some new Governour (though her Majesty had no such meaninge), she hath playnly resolued to contynue his Lordship there, both duringe the springe and till the end of the sommer, soe as for that matter it is at an end. Now, Sir George, resort, I pray you, to this consideration, whether her Majesty, suspectinge to grieue the Deputy by this

Difficulties in the way.

Mountjoy has applied for licence,

but has been refused.

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1602. October 24th.

denyall of his comminge over (for which allsoe he made his infynite affection to see her an other mayne foundation), will not allsoe be further scrupelous to increase his vnkyndnes by any other circumstance of favour which she shall shew in that kynde to any other; of which poynct if you fall into dew consideration, then looke into your self and thinke whether the case be not now changed for probabilitye to draw her mynd to graunt it you, when those that loue him here will say and thinke that the odds in the measure vsed towardes you and him (in this poynct) wilbe taken for some disgrace in her Majesty's valluation of him, in which you know he hath cause to be very tender.[a] Now, Sir, if you will answeare me to this, that there is a difference between a Governour and President, for I know you cannot be soe dyabolicall as to suspect that I am remisse in the desyre, then I will only replye thus much vnto you, that you know our Mistress well, and cannot but know by the same that one may draw backe more with one fynger then he can sett forward with a hand in such a case as this: wherein, I speake it to you confidently, that (but myself) I know not one man in this kyngdome that will bestow six woords of argument to replye if she denye it. Now, Sir, then consider my case, how vnfitt it is for me (where I haue no hope to prevayle) to shew my self violent in seekinge your satisfaction, when I haue not been able to procure it him towardes whom (allthough I make not myself soe luke-warm a friend as that I profess not a great deale of difference in my private affection between you and him,) yet I would be loathe to be misiudged by him in that poynct (wherein I did assure him) to deale other than really with him to the best of my power, for then, suerly, his request beeinge denyed and yours obtayned, it may be trewly coniectured that I (that knew the ioyninge of them might make the graunt more heavy) haue perswaded the one's stay to make the other's retourne the more easye, with which kynde of false and factious blasts though it hath been my fortune long to be breathed vpon (and therefore I can the

To give Carew leave would therefore affront Mountjoy.

[a] This refers to Mountjoy's alleged connexion with Essex's conspiracy.

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1602. October 24th.

better forsee the destynye) yet I protest vnto you that in this case I haue dealt as truly by him as euer I could haue done for you, or any man livinge; both because I will betray noe man that trusts in me, and because I could more easily haue overcome all arguments which should haue been made to oppose your comminge, when I should have had the help of his friends to perswade it, whome I had gratified in that poynct, and soe, likewise, for this matter I deale playnly with you, which I will euer doe. And now, methinkes, that you haue only read this part of my lettre, and are not come to the end, I do see you struggle with feare that your exile is resolued for one yeare longer. But, good Sir George, (because you shall see that you haue here noe idle nor formall friend,) suspend till the end of my lettre, and observe well the course which I haue set downe, and then you will thinke my proiect for your retourne is nether voyde of love nor reason; which if it may be (and that with all dew circumstances) then you will confesse you haue your owne end, though not by your owne wayes. For my owne part, Sir George, I doe confesse that I affect not your contynuance in that Office; first, because it serues you but to discharge the place; secondly, it is subiect to accident, and one misfortune may extinguish with Princes many meritts, as the humours of the tyme are compounded; thirdly, I doe confess that for any comforte you are to me by beeinge there, I should take as much pleasure to heare from you out of Jerusalem. Now, Sir, how you can come hether, and (keepinge that government) not to be tyed in reputation to retourne in the springe if the Spaniards be expected, (which, howsoever they come or noe, sure I am it euer shalbe made so,) I leaue that to your owne iudgment. Secondly, when you shall come hether if you (upon bare expectation of some other fortune) absolutely stripp yourself of that place, that is also a matter whereof I would not haue you negligently nor rashly to resolue, but rather soe to advise and carrye the busynes as to fynde out some person for whose sake I may haue others' helpe to remoue you with your contentment, ether by compoundinge with you for the Place absolutely, or by holding under you as Vicepresident, as Sir Thomas

Project for attaining the object.

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Norris did of his brother, yeildinge him some yearly portion out of the same. Now then, if you (in fallinge into these considerations) would thinke that I am Esope's man which can doe all thinges, and that your affection (for some one or other respect), yea happely for sufficiencye of the Party to doe the Queen service, must be so stronge in you as in the choyce of any of these wayes, only such a man must receaue it as you and I shall like of and repute such a one, Lett it suffice you that I giue you this Item, that nether comminge hether (without which noe matter can be accommodated for you in any kynd) wilbe wrought, nor when you are here shall the passages for this matter be made soe easye as it wilbe if the private ends of some other persons be allsoe satisfied in contrivinge this busynes: in all which, to come to the poynct, this we must doe. Your returne must be wrought with all speed, it must be favoured by the Deputy, and thereby scaped to be crossed from thence or ill taken here; besides, when he sees that it cannot be wrought, nor is laboured for, without him, he will both conclude that he is not disgraced nor that your friends here haue any way neglected him. If this one principall verbe be then found out then doubt you not but we will make a Latyn; for this purpose I haue layed this proiect. There is a gentleman whom the Deputy most affecteth and trusteth of any person livinge. If this man might haue hope to woorke himself into the Vice-Presidentship it is as much as he desyreth, and I dare vndertake, if the Deputy would woorke it to him, he would be gladder then if he had 3000[li]; besydes, for your comminge hether, if he see but hope thereby to effect it, I know he would not only perswade it but send you over vppon some other external reason. As for the conditions which this gentleman would afford you, he wilbe contented to allow you out of it one full moyetye of all your intertaynments, both half the dyett money, half the benefitt of your horse company and foote company, &c., and yet displace none of your Lieutenantes nor Officers in your bands, nor soe vse the matter as that ether in England or Ireland any creature livinge should be

1602. October 24th.

A Vice-President to be appointed.

Upon composition.

Conditions.

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1602. October 24th. acquaynted with the composition but the Deputy, whoe (both for your owne sake and for his follower whom he respecteth) he will keepe it secrett, and in his computations if all your tributes to your Place be made, reckninge that your halfe would be 900li a year; for the effectinge of this I haue written to the L. Deputy, that, seeinge he tarryeth, it wilbe requisite that her Majesty be well informed by some other person (*viva voce*) of iudgment and reputation, who may both iustifye all thinges that are past and perswade for thinges to come as a publicke Minister, and may (out of private affection to himself) doe him all honest offices. To which taske I haue particulerly named your self as one that hath all these parts. And lastly, I haue playnly lett him knowe that I will take it for a great favour done to my self if by his meanes (without which I cannot woorke your retourne, nor will go about to woorke it) I may haue your Company for a moneth or two, and (if it be possible) be better able by your comminge to woorke that composition aforesayd; wherein his lordship shall haue oportunitye to advance one of his owne favourites, and shall (what euer come of it) send one over whoe will infuse all good ingredience for him self to her Majesty, besides that gratifyinge of me as much as he can devise to doe in the world. Next

Means of procurement. Sir, for the way to procure this: I haue already procured a lettre from her Majesty to the L. Deputy that he do now begynne to consult in the wynter tyme for all thinges necessarie for the summer, and, namely, call to such consultation other Provinciall Governours, remote Commanders, or any other person (with whom he thinkes fitt to conferre) at Dublyn. This I did the better to warrant his calling you from Munster, and by that callinge to give both him, you, and that gentleman (with whom I have dealt as I tell you) meanes to conferre and to compounde, of which (if you shall speake by lettres or by messages) it would prooue a matter full of absurdityes. Next I thought thereby to make your comminge over so much the more warrantable when you shalbe present and an actor in the Counsells there; beeinge then sent over to give accompt here of the same. In which poynct of your sendinge over allsoe, because

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1602. October 24th.

I haue not dared in perticuler to propound it to the Queen least she should not assent vnto it, beeinge apter to approue *facta* then *facienda*, I haue allso, out of my owne knowledge (that it wilbe of excellent vse to her service to receaue such lights from you) presumed soe farr as to prevent any feare the L. Deputy may haue to doe that for which he hath not particuler warrant, as to write vnto him to doe it in the respects before hand, and to warrant him by my letter that I will stand his warrant for the well acceptation thereof when it is done. And thus, Sir, haue I now at great length given you an accompt of all that I haue or can doe in this busynes, wherein I am sure of good successe, by the favour of God, if by noe errour of your owne this matter be not crossed. First, therefore, and aboue all thinges, lett it nott be known to any in your Province, or to any of your friends here, that you expect to be sent for to Dublyn, much lesse that you hope to come to England, but nether, I pray you, give out the contrarye, even till the tyme you haue made your dispatch at Dublyn, that the first newes we hear may be of your landinge. Secondly, bethinke you, before hand, (agaynst the tyme you shall receaue the Deputyes Commandment,) how to prepare thinges in your province, as by leauinge it there may appeare noe notorious inconvenience; thirdly, bethinke you of leauinge the charge in such hands as the Deputy may not foresee that the purpose (whereof I haue written vnto you) be so forestalled by investinge any such person in your charge as may hinder the secrett purpose: for which purpose I would you did procure Thomond, whoe is likest to mutiny, to go with you there to make him giue attendance for the despatchinge of some of those perticular causes which he hath had, amongst the which I doe assure you one Teige O'Brian [a]

Instructions to Carew.

Thomond to go to Dublin.

[a] This, probably, was the Earl of Thomond's brother, notwithstanding he is here called *one* Teige O'Brien. Carew, writing to Cecil, from Waterford, on 20th April, 1600, requests him to take some occasion to write to the Earl of Thomond, who had lately laid his brother Tegg O'Brien fast in prison in Limerick, on some doubt of his loyalty. (State Papers, Irish Corr.) He was confined, however, for more than a year, when he managed to effect his escape and made his submission to Carew. The complaint here spoken of is not, however, traced in the State Papers of this period. There were, however, two other

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1602. October 24th. Complaint of Teige O'Brien.

doth shrewdly complayne against him, whose complaynt I will transmit thether. Lastlye, when you come to Dublyn shew your extreame affection to place him (whom I haue named vnto you) in your Government vpon the conditions aforesayd (for as much as lyeth in your power), or els, when you haue meett at Dublyn, and shall shew that it is nott most agreeable to you (whoe must be beholdinge to the Deputy) to place such a one as is most agreeable to the Deputy, the mayn post of this buyldinge will fall to peeces in the rearinge; ffor, though that shall not be made the occasion, yet we shall haue many occasions founde to demurre there of your sendinge over. And soe, once agayne recommendinge to your care the readynes of all thinges when you shalbe called, and the secrecy of all thinges till the time that you be called, I make an end of this Plott, wherin I conceaue I shall shew myself a good Architectour (of which great virtue in me, or rather vice, for it hath almost vndone me,) you shalbe *oculatus testis*, for I haue trymmed vpp a lodginge for you in my new howse (called Cecyll howse) by Ivye bridge, from whence this lettre is dated, and where you are wished by

Your affectionate freend,

Ro. Cecyll.

October 24, 1602.

XLIV.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 199. Holograph.]

1602. October 24th.

Sir,

Although you receaue my other lettre which is written by my Servant's hand (which I was driuen to do, mine eys being sore, and my self desirous to let you know my Reasons at length), yet you see

Teige O'Briens, viz. Teige, the 2nd son of Morrogh the fourth Baron Inchiquin; and Teige, the son and heir of Sir Tirlough O'Brien of Ennistymond, who, having joined with Redmond Burke and others in an incursion into Thomond, was slain on 29th March, 1601.

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there is nothing in it of frawde, or any practise, which is vnworthy, and, therefore, you need not (If you examined it rightly) feare any prejudice If my Servant were dishonest, from which my very good Triall knowes he is very Inocent. Now, Sir, to come to the matter, the man is Sir Oliver St. John,[a] whom I have so assured of my desire to haue him placed (for which but by your coming ouer I sayd I haue no hope) as he will imploy all his might to my Lord to perswade it; when you come, therefore, vse all accordingly, and referr the success to the Queen and to his freends, and that is all which you need do, for I hope you think I like not such an election nor think it feisible; seeing therefore you know all, and know that oportunity well taken is all in these things, I dare put you in trust how to humour all partyes there tyll you get hyther, and then we will not be asleep. Next, Sir, you may know that I haue both receaued your lettre with the verbal cyfer, which infinitely pleased the Queen, and I haue now receaued the letters to Boyle. First, where you desyre to know whyther we wold haue you woork by swoord or by Pacification. If you will haue warrant, I must put it to a publick question. If then any swch constitution of an Estate be shewed to the Queen as may now make her think that you shall haue much to do, you are like to be directed to stey. I do, therefore, move no swch questions, but, in my opinion, do think that If no swrty can be taken but by extirpation that our purse is not capable of the counsaile, and therefore to make some quiet end (which will hold owt even as long as the rest is like to do) were not amisse, in my conceipt; but, Sir, If you find that you haue any restraunct from this, do it not by my warrant, neyther in any case take them in that haue ben so obstinate rebells

1602. October 24th.

Sir Oliver St. John to be Vice-President.

Councils.

[a] Sir Oliver St. John, of Lydiard Tregoze, co. Wilts. It is probable that the arrangement with St. John was discussed and agreed upon when the parties met at Dublin, but in consequence of subsequent events it was never carried into effect, for Carew held the office until he resigned it on the appointment of Sir Henry Brunker. (Lamb. MSS. 619, fo. 131.) St. John was made Master of Ordnance in Ireland 1605, and Lord-Deputy 1616, and was created Lord Grandison 1622.

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1602. October 24th.

Persons not to be received.

as Morice, O'Sulivan Beare, the Knight of the Valley, or these; but some other I would take in, or rather deferr any maine Resolution tyll you be at Dublin, and there proceed as you see them disposed. You see my conceipt, which is only to avoid referring to us here new causes for new directions which may entangle you. Boyle[a] is accused by Crosbye for I know not what, of cosining and concealing; one barrell little better hearring then thother. Let me know, therefore, whyther you wold haue him favoured or no; trewly the fellow seems witty.

For Cormack's escape[b] it made here no wonder, nor scarse spoken of in any place to hurt you. This lettre, which I send you, goes away tomorrow; so doth St. John go towards Chester tomorrow, after whose being with the Deputy I believe you shall not be long vnsent for, till which Time be sylent. And so for this Time I end.

Your louing and assured Freend,

Ro. Cecyll.

[a] This was Richard Boyle, afterwards the Great Earl of Cork. The Earl of Ormond, writing to Cecil from Kilkenny on the 2nd December 1601, incloses notes: "how one Crosby and Boyle have been the only means of overthrowing many of Her Majesty's good subjects, by finding false titles to their lands and turning them out;"—representing that "Boyle being Deputy Escheator to her Highness for finding the lands by false offices to entitle her Majesty to benefit themselves, and not for any service to her Highness, the said Crosbie being in the bosom of the State, to countenance the doings of the other, and by that means got much lands for themselves, which manner of dealing brought much discontentment and sedition amongst the subjects." Observing also that "Crosbie informs Cecil that these lands are of little quantity and therefore of no value, and so procures Mr. Secretary's good will for them, and herein abuses the Secretary and deceives the Queen to benefit himself." He says also: "The said Crosbie his surname is M^c y Crossane, one of the mere Irishry, whose chief ancestor hath been Chief Rymer to O'More and O'Connor, and to most of the rest of the mere Irish of Leinster, and the said Rymer called M^c y Crossan, and yet the said Crosbie denies to be descended of the said M^cCrossane, but only of English blood and surname, which is not so of my own knowledge, for the said Crosby's mother is of the Mores, and his father's mother is of the Kellys of Clone Malyrie." (See note [a], p. 28.)

[b] See note [c], p. 87.

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SIR GEORGE,

1602. October 24th.

I vnderstand that my Lord Deputy hath given Sir Edw. Wingfield 200 foot, of which I am right gladd; but where I see you wold haue Haleboling for him I protest to you, and so I pray you tell him, that the Queen will not like it, and the further moving it will rather hurt then do him good. Time will help in some other thing, but I assure you he hath here great back friends.

Sir Edward Wingfield has 200 foot, but is not to have Halbowling. He has great friends at Court.

I will write by St. John to you shortly, to let you know my desire that you and he wold agree, because I love you both, and I will write that he hath yelded to half profitt if he be your vice presydent.

St. John will agree to half profits.

XLV.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 216. Original.]

SIR GEORGE CAREW,

1602. November 4th.

Although I doubt not but you haue receaued my Last Long Letter with this late Easterly winde (which seemes it doth continue), I haue thought good, as thinges doe passe, to geue you some notice what is like to be best taken. For Cormack M'Dermod I must confess vnto you (for myne owne opinion) I could haue wished (seeing it is the course in the other parts of that kingdome, and seeing the poorest Rebell (while he is soe) troubles the Queen more than all his Lands is worth,) that such a course of pardon might be taken as might geue vs breath from that soe vntollerable burthen as the maintenance of so great an army putts vs toe: for, although I know her Majesties forces haue an excellent success in all their attempts, yet if the charges continue as they doe, her Majesty will feele but small sence of the victory; for I speak it with greef (whatsoever you thinke, that there are subsidies and Prises, and such perquisites which doe accrew to her Majesty), that all the receipts are so short of the issue, as my hairs stands (*sic*) vpright to thinke of it: whereof I

Cormack's pardon.

Great cost of Ireland.

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1602. November 4th.

neede geue no other particular instance but this, that this fower yeares daye Ireland hath cost £300,000li a yeare, the least yeare; wherein yf you shall conceaue that the expenses are easied by the mixed coyne, first you know all that is saued therein must be onely derived from that portion which is issued in the lendings, for all the apparell is prouided here, so as therein there is no sauing. Secondly, her Majesty provides you victuaill with sterling money, which is defalked onely there in the Irishe coyne. Reckonne then what an intollerable return hath been made vpon the Exchange, and you shall then perceaue that (when all rekonings are made) her Majesty, as it is vsed, shall haue done little more then borrowed before hand some good sommes of money, which are to be dearly paied for in the ende; for instance whereof, there is six score thousand pounds paid, and to be paied, for the Exchange in 16 moneths, for, although it is true that the corruptions are great which merchants haue vsed, and it can not be but the Paymasters in every Province haue colluded with them, seeing the mixed money onely is issued in Lendings to the army, whereof the whole somme almost is returned, (which is against all sense, considering the small remaine the soldier hath to Exchange), yet rather then the lettre of her Majesty's Proclamation should be controverted, she is resolved to paye it whatsoeuer come of it. But, Sir, you shall very shortly heare a newe Proclamation, wherein onely Exchange shalbe leaft for the army, and yf the merchants will haue any, they must bring in 60li sterling in the 100li. which I dare vndertake they may doe, and yet gain 20 in the 100 by the trade; considering that whatsoever costs them tenn shillings here will sell for 40s. there, so as yf they haue no more but the very coyne it self mixed, they could be no loosers, though they never Exchange it, seeing there is an intrinsicall valew of silver which equalls the principall they laye out, to which rekoning yf you add that they shall haue 100li for 60li my argument holds in substance though not in forme. And yf they will say they can not find sterlin money, then I would answer, What is become of all they had? and, in the name of God, lett the forrain merchant steale for-

Exchange of mixed coin.

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1602. November 4th.

rain bullion for that purpose, as well as they doe from hence. But, Sir, I am out of the waye, for my cheef purpose was to tell you, that vpon Sir Walter Raleigh's coming to Court, her Majesty, falling into some speach of Munster, and speaking of Cormack M'Dermod, I tould her Majesty that you had good Pledges vpon him; had spoiled his Contrey, and taken his Castles; and that he offered to submit: whereupon her Majesty, saying so much to Sir Walter Raleigh, he very earnestly moued her Majesty of all others to rejecte him: first, because his contrey was worth her keeping; secondly, because he liued so vnder the eye of the state, as whensoeuer she would it was in her power to suppress him; of which speech she tooke great hold, and willed me therevpon, whatsoeuer you dyd to any other, that you should not pardon him. Of thus much I thought good to informe you, because I was afraid least you might, in respect of the contents of my last letter, the better to warrant your absence at Dublin, dispose things by a pacification, which surely in his person, O'Sullyvan Beares, nor Morice of Lixnaw, would not be done. On twesday last Sir Oliver St. Johns went for Chester, and yf this winde hold he will not be long out of Ireland. There is no newes here of much importance. France is quiett; both armies in the Low Countries in garrison. In Spaine the enterprise of Algier dissolved; the Gallies gone for Italy, the ships of warr returned to Lisbonn and the Groyne for their wintering ports. Her Majesty (I thank God) is exceeding well; all other things as they were; and here is the old Company that miss you and long for you. And thus with my right harty commendations I commend you to God's protection. From Cecyll house this 4th of November 1602.

Cormack's submission rejected.

Reasons.

Sir Oliver St. John's departure.

Foreign intelligence.

Your Loving and assured frend,

RO. CECYLL.

Addressed, To my honorable and Loving
frend Sir George Carew, Knight,
L. President of Munster in Ireland.
Indorsed, From Mr Secretarye,
4th Novr 1602.
Receved 16 Novr. 1602.

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XLVI.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 218.]

SIR,

1602. December 22.

Although I haue not heard more generall imputation throwne vppon any man then there hath been vppon this bearer,[a] yet when it came to the poynct I saw noe man that could, or would, obiect any perticular. Nevertheles, because it is not easye to pull out of a prince's mynde matter of accusation till there be some purgation, I haue offered the Queen from him thus much, That if any man shall hereafter come forth to charge him, he shalbe ready to answeare vppon any warninge. This did a litle stay her, but it is trew that noone of all this could haue soe much swayed her iudgment if it had wanted your testimony; of whose discretion she is so well perswaded. I doe therefore now retourne him to you better than he came in opinion of those that knew him not, which is much, I can tell you, in our world. And for myself I must confesse I haue found him both sufficient in all thinges wherein he hath dealt, and for your owne particuler both diligent and afectionate. In which kynde though he haue had least successe, yet they are not neglected, but only in respect of the disputation that yet we are in in the course of the new moneys. With this therefore (for the present) I must intreate you to remayne satisfyed vntill I write next, or heare from you, which I hope I shall doe shortly, if it be trew which I doe heare of your beeinge with my L. Deputy. And soe for this tyme I committ you to God. From the Court at Whytehall this 22 of December 1602.

Accusation against Mr. Boyle.

His return to Ireland.

Your verie louinge and assured frend,

RO. CECYLL.

Superscribed, To my honorable and very Lovinge freind S[r] George Carew, Knight, L. Presydent of the Province of Munster in Ireland.

Indorsed, From M[r] Secretarye, the 22 of December 1602. Receved the 21 Ja. 1602.

[a] Mr. Boyle, as appears by the reference to the letter given by Carew in the table of Contents. With respect to the charges against him, see note, [a], p. 146.

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XLVII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 147.]

SIR,

1602-3. January 3rd. Sir Richard Percy.

I haue (accordinge to your desyre) presented this gentleman S^r^ Richard Percye to her Ma^ty^, and withall vsed those arguments for her acceptation of him which your clear testimonye so lardglye confirmed. He made me not acquaynted with any other sutes of his, for if he had, you know so well my affection to the Erle, as I should not haue stycked to the vttermost of my power. To conclude, Sir, her Ma^ty^ hath vsed him verie graciouslye, and recommendeth him back agayne for one whoe (by his orderlye followinge the warres, as well as by his courage) may be noted for an example of this difference, when a gentleman of a noble house, and others that care not to make merchandize of the warr, are imployed. And thus, S^r^, for this tyme I committ you to God. From the Court at Whytehall the 3 of Januarye 1602.

Used graciously by the Queen.

Your verie lovinge and assured freind,

RO. CECYLL.

Superscribed, To my honorable and lovinge freind Sir George Carew, Knight, L. President of Munster.
Indorsed, 3 Januarij 1602, from S^r^ Robert Cecyll.
Rec^d^ primo Martij 1602.

XLVIII.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 149. Holograph.]

Carew's return.

I haue fownd by my L. Deputy's ire that he intends constantly to send you, which I hope by this Time you do also know as well as he. This makes me write no more but that I haue written him to

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1602-3. January (?).

fortefy him, and to assume for all y^e^ Perells that can befall him. Our Nwes are that the Duke of Bouillon[a] refuseth to come to the King, and stands vppon his Gard, which is but the beginning of more troubles, thogh I am not of opinion that the body of the Religion will easily move.

The Duke of Bouillon refuseth to come to the King.

Here we have this Nwes that Sir Ed: Wotton is made Comptroller.[b]

Sir Edward Wotton made Controller.

And thus, expecting your coming, I can say no more but that no earthly man can be more welcome to

Your affectionate freend,

Ro. Cecyll.

Addressed, To my honorable and verie loving frend, Sir George Carew, Knight, L. President of Muuster.

Indorsed, From M^r^ Secretary Cecyll, without date.

Receaved 2d February 1602.

[a] Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount Turenne, had by the favour and friendship of Henry IV. been raised to the independent Sovereignty of the Duchy of Bouillon. He was engaged in the Conspiracy of Biron, but, unlike the other accomplices, refused to submit himself to the King's clemency. He fled to Switzerland, but still continued his intrigues with the Huguenots in France. Henry therefore proceeded against him with an army, and proceeded to attack Sedan, the capital of the Duchy of Bouillon, situated on the frontiers of Flanders. He thereupon made his submission, and surrendered Sedan to the King. At the termination of a month, however, it was restored, and Bouillon received into high favour.

[b] Sir Edward Wotton was nephew of Dr. Nicholas Wotton, Ambassador to Scotland in 1585, and to France in 1586. According to Camden (Kennet's Collection) Sir Edward Wotton was appointed Comptroller of the Household December 1600, but from this letter it would appear that he was not admitted to the office until 1603. He was created Baron Wotton of Marley, co. Kent, 1603, and appointed Treasurer of the Household, 1616. Died 1629. The title became extinct on the death of his son, 1630.

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XLIX.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 139. Original.]

SIR GEORGE CAREW,

1602. January 12th. The Lord Courcy. Intrusion.

The Lord Courcy[a] having receaued such satisfaction as for the present wee were able to afforde him, in respect that he came not furnished with any authenticall proofs of an Office of Intrusion which he pretendeth to have found in Ireland, and therefore he is now by the Lords remitted over to Dublin for the returning and perfetting of the Office, and procuring of a transcript thereof to be sent hether, to the ende that her Majesty then may be mooued to bestow such part of the Intrusion upon him as shall seem convenient in her Princely jugement, before which tyme it should be but in vayne to trouble her Majesty with it, vnless wee would haue her to grant a thing which herself knoweth not what she should grant, especially it being of that nature as it is, whereby many of her good subiects may be drawen into great trouble and vexation, I shall not need particularly to recommend his Lordship unto you, because you haue alreadye recommended him to me, onely I will desire you that you will continue vnto him your accustomed fauour for the perfetting of his busyness according to former directions, with as much expedition as conveniently may be, wherein, because I doubt not but you wilbe forward enough from yourself, I

He is commended to Carew.

[a] Gerald Lord Courcy, who was knighted by Sir Henry Sidney in 1566, by his last will disinherited his daughter Mary, and gave all his lands unto his next cousin and heir John FitzEdmond Courcy, and to his heirs male; and, in default of such issue, to Queen Elizabeth and her successors for ever. This will was dated 6th June, and was proved the 8th of August, 1599. Mary, the only daughter of Gerald Lord Courcy, married first, Donough O'Driscoll, and secondly, John Gallway of Kinsale, but died s. p. The Lord Courcy here mentioned was John the successor of Gerald; he was living in 1615, and had several sons. (Lamb. MS. 626, 93.) It is probable that the Office of Intrusion referred to in the text had reference to some complications arising out of the will above mentioned.

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1602. January 12th. will cease, for this time, and committ you to God's protection. From the Court at Whytehall, this 12th of Januarii, 1602.

Your loving and assured frend,

Ro. Cecyll.

Addressed, To my honorable and loving frend Sir George Carew, Knight, L. President of Munster.

Endorsed, 12 Jany. 1602. From Sir Robert Cecyll.

Receued primo Martij, 1602.

L.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 143. Holograph.]

1602-3. January 20th. Sir G.,

I receaued lettres from you from Gallaway when I rather hoped you wold haue ben shypping or landed. You know that I was faine to vse my best Indeavour to woork the Lord-Deputy's mynd, without which, I can assure you, the Queen wold not haue assented, neyther yet hath she any certain Notice that you do come, but, being come, I know will well like it. I haue heard from the Lord-Deputy that he will send you as soon as the Commissioners come ouer. Now, Sir Georg, consyder to what length that may be subiect, and that Gardiner,[a] being an old man, may tarry on the way. They depart not till the xv^th^ of February, in which respect me thinks you might of your self go to the Lord Deputy and neuer tarry till he send for you, and then may he send you ouer. I haue, notwithstanding, written to him to send for you and send you away, and haue alledged the same Reasons. To be short, Sir, If you tarry long many things may happen to suspend his sending of you, but If you be once come we can find meanes to keep you. Now for your

Carew's return.

[a] Sir Robert Gardiner, appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench 1785. 1604.

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1602-3. January 20th.

report I vse it but Forme, for I shold haue ben gladd you had only brought vs Newes of the cassing 4000. I haue let the Lord-Deputy trewly know that thogh I wold not haue your Retourn made only to deale in that matter, yet that you haue so wisely concurred with him in the wishing of Tyrone's reduction by Pardon, and so trewly iustified all his Lordship's actions, as I know, both for the Publick and private, your coming wold be to great purpose. The Newes from Cales of the French King are idle which Gold brought, for the King makes no warr, but knowes the King of Spaine practiseth, and yet thinks better to temporise, hauing his kingdom full of factions and loving senseably. Bouillon[a] is fledd into Germany, being somoned by the King to appeare to answer his accusations, in all which I think he was farr from giltines, but I neuer doubt that he was not in some so lapped with others as he knew he shold haue drunk a bitter cup, for he hated the marriadgs wished by the Prince of Conde successour, was prowd and discontented. He will swrely come back to Cedan, where the King will not make the canon march only to gett him out, If he do no more, and If he cold haue don more he wold neuer haue fledd. The King therefore, gladd to be rydd faire of those he hates, will, I conceaue, please them of the Religion, in seeming not gready to prosecute him whom they love thogh they do not rebell for. There will no army come into Ireland, If at all, before August. He setts vp his only rest for Flanders, where Ostend still holds out. And thus in hast I end, hauing only sent this to hasten your coming.

Foreign Intelgence.

Bouillon fled into Germany.

He will return, &c.

If the King will not be severe.

Yours,

R. Cecyll.

From Court this xx[th] of Jan. 1602.

Indorsed, 20 January, 1602. From
Mr. Secretary Cecyll.
Receaued ultimo ejusdem.

[a] See note [a], p. 152.

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LI.

[Lamb. MSS. 604, 141. Holograph.]

1602-3. February.

If you be at Dublin, heare this gentleman and further him in the thinges that concern her Majesty's Service, If you find Tast in them as I do. Let him also find your friendship to him self, and for God's sake away with this ryddle of the Exchange. I haue written to the worthy Deputy not to stey you, and so I end.

Yours,
R. C.

Newes are here alredy of your coming into England, at which I mervaile.

Addressed, To my honorable and loving frend
Sir George Carew, Knight, Lord President
of Munster in Ireland.
Indorsed, from Sir Robert Cecyll.
Receued primo Martij, 1602.

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APPENDIX.

ABSTRACTS OF LETTERS NOT OF SUFFICIENT INTEREST TO BE PRINTED IN EXTENSO.

1599, March 5.—Mr. Campbell, Deane of Lymbrycke,[a] who had fallen into great misery by the unnatural rebellion in Munster, in remembrance of his former good service and diligent endeavour, is ordered by her Majesty for a gracious allowance until such time as by settling of the country he may be restored to his former living. From the Court at Richmond the 5th March 1599. Lamb. MSS. 604, 7. Original.

Sir Robert Cecyll to Sir George Carew.—On behalf of Justice Saxey.[b] Hath been better favoured here in regard of Carew's recommendation. In those things which have been moved here, wherein there might have grown any prejudice to Carew's authority, he hath been ready to inform Lamb. MSS. 604, 11. Original.

[a] Dennis Campbell, a native of Scotland, Rector of Drumcliffe in the diocese of Killaloe. In 1588 he was appointed co-adjutor to his diocesan, Bishop Carey. In 1603 he was nominated to the sees of Derry, Raphoe, and Clogher, but died in the month of July in that year, before his consecration.

[b] William Saxey was appointed Chief Justice of Munster in 1594, and in 1599 he was made second Justice of the King's Bench. On 30th October, in the latter year, he wrote to Cecil making suit for his entertainment as Chief Justice of Munster. He states that before his appointment he gained yearly by his practice 500*l*. He urges his age, three score years, and his wife and seven children unprovided. In the same year (before 12 Dec.) he wrote to the Privy Council on the causes of the rebellion in Munster, and pointing out how, in his opinion, the same might be suppressed. He describes the rates paid by the rebels for arms, provisions, &c. six cows for a sword, the same number for a caliver, a musket, and a head-piece; and a cow for a pound of powder. Sir Henry Power, writing to Cecil on the 18th February 1599-1600, says, "Justice Saxey's fear urges him to leave for England;" and in another letter, in the following month, it is said, "his life is laid for by the rebells;" and on the 30th of May, President Carew writes to Cecil for his favourable countenance and help for Mr. Saxey's preferment to be Chief Baron of the Exchequer. In August 1601, Carew again urges upon Cecil Justice Saxey's suit to succeed Sir Robert Napper, and speaks of his perfection of knowledge in the laws, integrity, and uprightness. (State Papers, Irish Corr.)

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and remember the lords and my self. Thinks Carew shall find very good use of him, being both religious and of experience, and therefore doubts not but that Carew will give him more comfort than the last commissioners of that province. From the Court at Greenwich the 18 of May 1600.

Lamb. MSS. 604, 15. Original.

From Sir Robert Cecyll and Sir John Herbert to Sir George Carew in behalf of Lady Norreys.[a]—Her case indeed deserveth compassion. Her Majesty was first pleased that one whom she named should command a company in Munster; but, the President having employed that Company in remote places, the hopes she had had been frustrated for any good she was to reap thereby. Her wish was that such a company might be placed upon her own land, to prevent havock and spoil. She having made great complaint to the Queen, and her Majesty being desirous, in any reasonable matter, to gratify her whose husband died in her service, the writers had bethought themselves how the matter might be ordered least prejudicial to her Majesty's service, and most to the lady's satisfaction. They knew no way better than that, when the President should have cause to remove that Company he should reserve 50, or so many as may be sufficient to guard the castle, to be commanded by him; or by his lieutenant, for whom the Lady Norreys was sutor. From the Court at Whitehall, 20 Dec. 1600.

Lamb. MSS. 604, 17. Original.

Sir Robert Cecyll to the same.—Has been informed that Mr. Smyth,[b] who serveth her Majesty in Munster, is about to commence a suit against one James O'Moyle for some wrongs done unto him by Sir Warham St. Leger in a controversy between them concerning Gillye Abbey. Cecyll, having before written for Carew's lawfull favour to be afforded to the said Smith in equity, but having since understood that his letter, arriving after the death of Sir Warham St. Leger, had not been delivered, and having a disposition to please the party in their lawfull causes, being the son of an ancient servant of the Queen to whom he is beholding, thinks it good to reiterate his former request that Carew should take notice of

[a] See note [e], p. 6, and note [b], p. 13.

[b] Thomas Smythe, Commissary of Victuals at Galway, probably the son of Henry Smyth who wrote a report of the state of Munster, dated the 30th October 1598, which is inclosed in a letter from the Lords Justices and Council to the Privy Council, dated 3rd November 1598. (State Papers, Irish Corr.)

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him as one whom he had recommended, and yield him such justice with expedition as both the man and the matter should be found to deserve. Greenwich, 26 May 1600.

The same to the same.—In behalf of Captain Clare,[a] who, professing all love and affection for Carew, is desirous of serving where he doth command, and hath earnestly desired to have the commandment of the Fort of Lymberick, and, being a gentleman whom Cecyll doth esteem, he desyres that his letter may stand him in some stead. No date, but indorsed as received on 23 Aug. 1600. Lamb. MSS. 604, 25. Original.

The same to the same.—In behalf of a servant of Lord Barry,[b] who hath some sute at law, and to whom he requests that Carew will afford such lawful favour as the equity of his case will bear. Savoy, 4 Oct. 1600. Lamb. MSS. 604, 42. Original.

The same to the same.—In behalf of the brother of Sir John Gilbert,[c] and thereby the Lo. President's kinsman, who has determined to follow his fortune in the Irish wars. Not dated, but indorsed 2 Nov. 1600. Lamb. MSS. 604, 52. Original.

Sir Robert Cecyll to the Lord President.—In favour of Mr. Henry Pyne.[d] "He shall need to use small commendations of the bearer, seing the Lord President is so well affected towards him, especially considering the testimony he carryeth with him under the hands of the Lords of the Council." From the Court at Whitehall 23 Nov. 1600. Lamb. MSS. 604, 61. Original.

[a] Captain Henry Clare. In October 1600, the Lord Deputy gave him Sir Robert Lovell's Company, in lieu of the other Company which Clare had at Loughfoil. In March 1601, he applied to Cecil for the office of Governor of Connaught. About the same time complaints were made against him by the Master (Mayor) of Galway, relative to the mischief and outrages he had committed. (State Papers, Irish Corr.)

[b] Mr. Pyne, see note [a], p. 56.

[c] Sir John Gilbert, of Greenway and Compton, co. Devon, uterine brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, had two brothers, the famous Sir Humphrey, who at this date was dead, and Adrian Gilbert, who at one time was engaged in some mining speculations in Devon. It is presumed that the latter was the person commended to Carew's good offices in this letter. His mother and Carew's were sisters, being daughters of Sir Philip Champernon.

[d] See note [a], p. 56.

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Lamb. MSS. 604, 59. Original.

The same to the same.—In behalf of Mr. Bryskett,[a] an ancient servitor of the realm of Ireland, and now employed by her Majesty beyond the seas. He hath an interest in the abbey of Bridgetown from her Majesty for many years yet to come. He had bargained with the Lord Roche, and received part of the payment for the same, but his Lordship had failed to make good the subsequent payment and had gone into rebellion; whereby Bryskett's interest in the abbey had again reverted to him, and he requests that he may be put into possession. From the Court at Whitehall 19 Nov. 1600.

Lamb. MSS. 604, 88. Original.

The same to the same.—In behalf of Captain Skipwith.[b] "Had served long in the warrs and given good proof of his valour. Cecyll can do no less than recommend him, as well for his father's sake as his own; requests that he may receive such favour as his quality and deserts shall merit." From the Court at Greenwich 2 Aug. 1601.

Lamb. MSS. 604, 98. Original.

The same to the same.—In Mr. Gerard Harvey's[c] behalf. "In respect to his worth and long continuance in her Majesty's service is well known to the President, and therefore needs no commendation; yet, because there is an opinion that those who bear the Secretary's letters fare nothing worse, he will not deny him, being a gentleman whom he esteems." From the Savoy 28 Aug. 1601.

[a] Lodowick Bryskett is mentioned in the Irish State Papers as early as 1590. On 1 Sept. 1594, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland wrote to Lord Burghley for the stay of the letters procured in favour of Lodowick Bryskett to be Clerk of the Council, which office is already passed to William Usher. He says, "Lodowick Bryskett's father was a natural Italian; he keeps a continual correspondence with Florence." In 1595, Bryskett was appointed to the newly created office of Clerk of the Casualties. (State Papers, Irish Corr.)

[b] See note [e], p. 135.

[c] Sir Gerard Harvey was the second son of John, son and heir of Gerard, illegitimate son and successor of Sir George Harvey, of Thurleigh, co. Beds. Sir Gerard was knighted at Cadiz, 1596; and was one of the Sergeant-Majors in Ireland in 1599.

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